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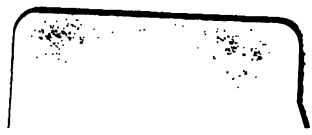

Milford. 1811.

221 e. 282

Milford 1811.

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CRITICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

SITUATION AND DESTRUCTION

BY THE

First Eruptions of Mount VESUVIUS,

OF

Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabia;

The late Discovery of their Remains;

The Subterraneous Works carried on in them;

AND THE

Books, Domestick Utensils, and other remarkable Greek and Roman Antiquities thereby happily recovered;

The Form and Connection of the ANCIENT CHARACTERS being faithfully preserved,

In a LETTER,

(Originally in GERMAN)

To Count BRUHL, of SAXONY,

From the Celebrated

Abbé WINCKELMAN, Antiquarian to the Pope,

Who was unfortunately murdered at TRIESTE.

Illustrated with NOTES, taken from the French Trans[lation]

LONDON:

Printed for T. CARNAN and F. NEWBERY, jun. at Number Sixty-five, in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

MDCCLXX.

221. e. 252.

PREFACE.

THE preſent century has had the advantage of diſcovering the ruins of three ancient towns, covered by the eruptions of Mount Veſuvius, and of having what they contained laid open to the inſpection of the curious, who by theſe means have obtained a vaſt field for the gratification of curioſity, and of that inextinguiſhable thirſt of knowledge, which is one of the principal characteriſtics of rational beings. Theſe towns were Herculanium, Pompeii, and Stabia.

The city of Herculanium, firſt ſuffered by an earthquake, which happened on the 5th of February, in the year 63, and continued to waſte the neighbouring country during many days. Pompeii was entirely ſwallowed up, great part of Herculaneum was reduced to ruin, and the reſt ſo ſhattered that it muſt have fallen, had it not been repaired after the people had recovered from their fright. Sixteen years after this accident,

dent, on the firſt of November, 79, in the firſt year of the Emperor Titus, Herculaneum, was totally overwhelmed by an irruption of Mount Veſuvius. Uncommon heats, and many ſhocks of an earthquake, had been felt for ſome days, accompanied with a noiſe like thunder, not only in the air, but under the ground, and upon the ſea. This noiſe, which ſeemed to be the groan of Nature, increaſed in a moment, like a cry extorted by ſome ſudden pang; and there iſſued from all the apertures of the mountain, a prodigious quantity of ſtones and aſhes, which were thrown to an incredible height. Theſe were followed by a ſtream of fire which ſpread like a ſheet, and a thick ſmoke, which totally intercepted the light of Heaven, and produced an unnatural night of tremendous darkneſs, which the flames of the Volcano in a manner rendered viſible. With the fire iſſued an aſtoniſhing quantity of cinders, aſhes, and ſtones, which filled not only the air and the earth, but the ſea. Pompeii which had juſt been rebuilt, was totally deſtroyed, and was buried with Stabia and Herculaneum, under the lava of Veſuvius.

The dreadful circumſtances which attend the deſtruction of theſe cities, are worthy of being prefixed

prefixed to a work which treats of the antiquities they contained, ſince theſe melancholly events were attended with a circumſtance that will be of advantage to mankind. By their being thus overflowed by the lava of Veſuvius, they were locked up and ſecured from the ravages of the Goths and Vandals, who deſtroyed moſt of the veſtiges they found of the arts, and were preſerved through a long ſeries of barbarous ages for the improvement of very diſtant times. By their being thus ſecluded from public view for near ſeventeen hundred years, by the hand of Providence, it ſeems as if they were reſerved by the Omnipotent Diſpoſer of all things, for the inſtruction and improvement of the preſent century, in which the arts are cultivated throughout all Europe, and are gradually riſing to perfection, particularly in this kingdom, where a gracious Prince has taken them under his peculiar protection.

The ſtudy of antiquities is one of the moſt pleaſing, and the moſt inſtructive of thoſe in which the curioſity of man can be engaged. Theſe are of the greateſt conſequence in elucidating hiſtory, particularly ſuch antiquities as theſe, which afford a diſtinct knowledge of the furniture, domeſtic utenſils, ſacred veſſels, paintings,

ings, ſtatutes, intaglios, ſeals, &c. found at Herculaneum, many of which are amazingly beautiful, and ſuperior to any antiquities before diſcovered. By theſe diſcoveries we are introduced, as it were, into the age in which the ancient Romans flouriſhed; and enter more minutely into their public and domeſtic life.

At the time when the above cities were deſtroyed, the arts flouriſhed, and were carried to the greateſt height. The cities of Italy were embelliſhed with the works of the greateſt maſters of Greece, and contained the moſt finiſhed and moſt perfect works in painting, ſtatuary, and engraving of ſeals; works that will ever be the admiration of mankind, and are worthy of being tranſmitted as models to be carefully ſtudied by the artiſts of all future ages, wherever there is a deſire of carrying the arts to the utmoſt perfection. This renders the preſent work both intereſting and highly neceſſary at the preſent time, when by the ſtudy of nature and her fineſt models produced by the ancients, our artiſts are exerting all their abilities to arrive at perfection.

After all, theſe antiquities afford the moſt ſtriking moral reflections to the mind of the contemplative;

templative; when we conſider that the objects here exhibited belonged to the mighty empires of Greece and Rome, long ſince deſtroyed, and were part of the furniture of the ancient Romans, ſo celebrated in hiſtory, and of their towns; we ſee the tranſitory glory of all earthly objects, that Empires, however firmly founded, and that cities, however embelliſhed, are like man, ſubject to mortality, and liable to diſſolution. This thought naturally humbles the mind in the duſt, and we learn to know our own inſignificance, the vanity of our pretenſions, and the futility of all earthly glories.

The Abbé Winckelman, the learned author of this work, acquired a very great reputation, by his various reſearches into the Grecian and Roman antiquities. Being at Vienna in the Year 1768, he met with a moſt honourable reception from all perſons of diſtinction, and was particularly loaded with favours by the Empreſs Queen, who among other preſents gave him three valuable gold medals, which had the impreſſion of the late Emperor Francis, of her imperial and royal Majeſty, and of the reigning Emperor, which ſoon after unhappily proved the cauſe of his death; for arriving at Trieſte in order to return

by

by ſea to Rome, he was murdered in the chamber of the inn where he lodged, by a paſſenger, who, deſiring to ſee the three medals, while he was opening the box in which they were contained, threw a cord with a running knot round his neck; and the knot ſtopping at the chin, he gave him ſeven ſtabs with a knife. Thus, to the regret of all Europe, died this ingenious and learned gentleman on the 9th of Auguſt, 1768, by the hand of a villain, after having been diſtinguiſhed not only by his learning, but by his candour, his love of liberty, and the moſt amiable virtues.

This work, was originally written in German, the Author's native language, and the Tranſlator begs leaves to obſerve, that he did not take upon him to tranſlate it, till he had long waited for ſome indications of its being undertaken by a better pen, though in point of faithfulneſs he flatters himſelf that none can exceed him.

A LETTER

A

LETTER, &c.

SIR,

AS I had the honour to accompany you in the tour, you made from Rome to Naples, during the carnaval of the year 1762, I thought it would not be amiſs to commit to writing ſome obſervations on the curioſities, we ſaw in the Royal Cabinet of Portici; as well to help your memory in regard to what appeared to you moſt worthy of notice, as to direct the eyes of other travellers, whoſe ſhort ſtay may not permit them to examine every thing with ſufficient attention.

I had, in my firſt tour to Portici, as good an opportunity as I could wiſh for, to examine thoſe precious remains of antiquity; the king having been moſt graciouſly pleaſed to give orders, that I ſhould be ſhewn every thing it was lawful to ſhew, and in the moſt convenient manner. Accordingly, I made the beſt uſe I could of ſo ſpecial a favour; ſpending, for two months together, whole days in this rich repoſitory. Beſides, ſir, you know, that, during our

three weeks ſtay at Naples, I went almoſt every day to Portici, where M. Camillo Paderni, the cabinet-keeper, my intimate friend, took a particular pleaſure in gratifying my curioſity; ſo that, had the Cabinet been my own, I could not have more minutely examined every thing it contained.

I make no doubt of your receiving this letter, with that kindneſs, of which you have given me ſo many proofs; and, therefore, ſhall not confine myſelf to the ordinary bounds of one; a liberty, which, I flatter myſelf, you will be the readier to excuſe, as the particulars I intend to treat of are equally new and intereſting; and it is you, the public muſt thank for my diſcuſſing them; ſince it is on your account alone I have undertaken to do it.

As it is impoſſible for me to ſpeak of every thing, I ſhall content myſelf with ſpeaking of what is moſt curious. I ſhall even paſs over in ſilence thoſe ſubjects, which I have already handled, in that part of my *Hiſtory of the Arts among the Ancients*, * which relates to the many paintings, and ſtatues found in this Cabinet. I ſhall ſometimes cite a work written by the learned M. Martorelli, profeſſor of Greek in the cathedral ſeminary of Naples, entitled *De Regiâ Thecâ Calamariâ*. This gentleman obtained leave to write on an antique ſtandiſh in Bronze, preſerved at Portici, but which was found, before the preſent works for examining the ruins of Herculaneum were undertaken

* This work, which was printing when Mr. Winckleman wrote this letter, has been ſince publiſhed.

taken. This ſtand-diſh is of an octagon form, with a Divinity incruſted, in ſilver on each of its eight ſides. Theſe Divinities, the author has been pleaſed to take for ſo many planets; and, loth to loſe ſo favourable an opportunity to diſplay his erudition, has thence launched out into that vaſt ocean of literary diſquiſitions, the mythology and aſtrology of the ancient Heathens. Nothing eſcapes him, that can be ſaid concerning the pens, and ink, and writings, and books, of the ancients. But, having had the misfortune of injudiciouſly, and even indecently, criticiſing the reſpectable Mazocchi; a man of eighty, and, for polite learning, the ornament of Italy, he was ordered to ſtop the work, when the laſt ſheet was in the preſs; and not let any one ſee it out of his own houſe. This work, however, I have had the pleaſure of peruſing; and I ſhall occaſionally mention the obſervations I have made on it, and the corrections I think it ſtands in need of. It is a large Quarto, of 734 pages, with an advertiſement, ſome additions, and three very circumſtantial tables containing 88 pages.

In this letter I propoſe to treat,

Firſt, Of the places overwhelmed by the aſhes and lava diſcharged by Mount Veſuvius.

Secondly, Of the cataſtrophe itſelf.

Thirdly, Of the caſual diſcoveries of thoſe places, and the methods taken to get at, and diſincumber, them.

Fourthly and *laſtly*, I ſhall communicate my obſervations on the things that have been found in them.

PART I.

I Am firſt, therefore, to inveſtigate the poſition of the ſeveral places buried by the eruptions from Mount Veſuvius; ſuch as Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabia. This is the more neceſſary, as it will give me an opportunity to correct the errors of ſeveral authors who have written on the ſame ſubject. Such as deſire more ample information may obtain it by conſulting other works, well known among the learned, in which thoſe matters are more largely handled.

Herculaneum, according to Strabo, ſtood on a point of land projecting into the ſea, and expoſed to the African wind *(Sciroco)*. The word ἄκρα can no more ſignify a promontory in the paſſage, where he gives us this ſituation of Herculaneum, than in that, where he uſes it to expreſs the three points of Sicily. I, therefore flatter myſelf with having hit upon the true meaning of this word, ſo much miſtaken both by ancient and modern writers, in conſequence of their knowing ſo little of the nature of thoſe places which it was employed to denote. We muſt, however, except Cluvier, who was too clear-ſighted, not to take proper notice of this blunder in the ancient poets, who, ſpeaking of the three Points of Sicily, repreſent them as ſo many Promontories. The ſhore near Reggio, in Calabria, is as low as the oppoſite part of the Sicilian ſhore, where Pelorus ſtood; there being no mountains within ſome miles of it. The word

word ἄκρα, therefore, ſignifies, what the Italians call *Capo*. For inſtance, they call *Capo d'Anzo*, the ſpot on which the ancient Antium ſtood, which, certainly, is no Promontory, but a low and level ſhore. As to the Promontory of Circe, which is ſituated between the place we have been ſpeaking of and Terracina, being a high rock, it is not called *Capo*, but *Monte-Circello*.

This remark, and the explanation occaſioned by it, are extorted from me by a doubt of M. Martorelli's concerning the paſſage of Strabo. M. Martorelli, it ſeems, taking the word ἄκρα, according to its uſual ſignification, for a promontory, is for concluding, that the text of Strabo is wrong, ſince the ancient Herculaneum could not ſtand on a promontory; and thereupon, without further ceremony, ſubſtitutes μακρὰν to ἄκραν. Thus, he tranſlates φρούριον μακρὰν ἔχον, *oppidum in ipſâ littoris longitudine ſitum*; conſidering the word as abſolute, and a real ſubſtantive; a thing without example. Accordingly, he has not been able to ſupport this his correction by any one ſingle paſſage. He thinks it ſufficient to alledge, that this mode of ſpeech is well known to the firſt ſmatterers in Greek. Yet I, who hope I may be allowed to conſider myſelf as ſomething better, cannot recollect my having ever met with the word μακρὸς in the ſenſe attributed to it by M. Martorelli.

The ſhore, on which the ancient Herculaneum was built, extended, like a point of land, into the ſea; that is to ſay, it was a Cape. Such is the opinion of Strabo, who does not, by any means, pretend to ſpeak of a Promontory. This,

even now, muſt appear obvious, on a bare view of the ſpot. For Portici and Reſina, both built above the city of Herculaneum, are almoſt on a level with the ſea, whoſe ſhore is here flat and ſandy. It is not poſſible, therefore, that the ancient city of Herculaneum ſhould have ever ſtood on an eminence; conſidering, eſpecially, how deep it lies under the preſent ſurface of the earth in this place. Its theatre is now more than one hundred palms under ground; and accordingly, they have been obliged to cut out one hundred ſteps, for the conveniency of the workmen employed in it. The beautiful pavement, which conſtitutes one of the principal ornaments of the Cabinet, in which the curioſities dug out of the ancient Herculaneum are preſerved, was diſcovered at the depth of no leſs than one hundred Neapolitan palms. This pavement was found in a little open building (ſuch as the Italians call *Loggia*), on a kind of baſtion, raiſed five and twenty palms above the ſurface of the ſhore.

Hence it follows, that the ſea has riſen greatly. This may appear a very odd opinion: but we have here, as well as in Holland, ſufficient proofs of it. The ſea, on the coaſts of Holland, is evidently higher than the adjoining land; which could not have been the caſe formerly; for as human induſtry had not then ſet any bounds to the ſea, it would have been impoſſible to cultivate that province. It will, perhaps, be objected, that the ancient Herculaneum might have ſunk in the earthquake. But this objection is deſtroyed by the ſtill erect poſition of the build-

buildings which compoſed it. Beſides, hiſtory does not tell us, that the eruption, by which this place was overwhelmed, was attended with any earthquake ſufficient to account for the ſwallowing up of a whole city. And, though ſuch an event were not only poſſible, but the thing had really happened, it muſt have preceded the eruption, ſo as to prevent the aſhes from covering any thing. On theſe melancholy occaſions the earthquake never follows the eruption.

We ſee the moſt evident proofs of this early and great riſe of the ſea, and its ſucceeding fall, on the columns placed in the porch of the temple of Eſculapius, or, according to ſome, of Bacchus, at Puozzoli. This building ſtands, and has ſtood time out of mind, on a pretty conſiderable eminence at about fifty paces from the ſea, which, in ancient times, muſt have entirely overflowed it. In fact, not only the columns lying on the ground, but even thoſe ſtill ſtanding, have been honey-combed by an oblong kind of ſhell-fiſh, whoſe ſhells are ſtill to be found in them: a circumſtance the more ſurpriſing, as theſe columns are of the hardeſt Egyptian granite.* This kind of ſhell-fiſh is called Dactylus, from δακτυλος, the Greek for finger; becauſe it reſembles the finger, in ſhape, length, and thickneſs. We muſt, therefore, ſuppoſe, that theſe columns lay long enough under water to

* Some perſons, who have ſcrupuouſly examined theſe columns, affirm, that they are not of Granite. But, though they ſhould not, the circumſtance of their being thus worked into to a certain height, as proving their immerſion to that height in ſea water, muſt be very ſurpriſing.

afford

afford the Dactyles an opportunity of working their way into them. This fiſh, in its tender and naked ſtate, forces itſelf into ſome opening in the ſtone, where it breeds a ſhell; and with it keeps continually turning about, the water rendering the contiguous ſides of the hole ſmooth and ſlippery, till it has obtained its full ſize; when finding no iſſue, it is obliged to remain where that period of its exiſtence overtakes it. One or another of the five fingers may be introduced into theſe holes, which are ſo finely poliſhed, that it would be no eaſy matter to do it as well with any of the inſtruments now in uſe for that purpoſe. What is ſtill more ſurpriſing, the marble pavement before the temple is, in many places, covered with ſand left there by the ſea. This place being, and having been time out of mind, as I have already obſerved, at ſome diſtance from, and ſome height above, the ſea, it is plain, that the ſea muſt have retired from, and ſunk below, it. I leave others to account for this event. The fact is certain. For my part, I mean no more than barely to deſcribe things as I have found them.

The word φρουρίον, employed by Strabo, in ſpeaking of Herculaneum, and which is now uſed to ſignify a Fort, or what the Italians call *Caſtello*, might induce us to believe, that this was an inconſiderable place; a thing by no means reconcileable with the nature and quantity of the buildings and other things diſcovered in it. Beſides, Diodorus uſes the ſame word in ſpeak- of Catania, well known to have been in his time a large city. Among theſe diſcoveries, nothing

nothing proves better the grandeur of Herculaneum, in point of extent and populouſneſs, than an inſcription importing, that it contained no leſs than nine hundred houſes of entertainment, ſuch as we call taverns. I ſhall give, in the fourth part of this letter, an inſcription put up to give notice, that one of theſe houſes was to be let. Now, the city, which contained theſe nine hundred taverns, and which moſt of the ancient writers called *Herculanum*, is called by Petronius *Herculis Porticum* c. 106; and hence is derived its modern name *Portici*.

Till the diſcovery of its ruins, no one had hit upon the poſition of the ancient Herculaneum. The learned Camillo Pellegrini *, thoroughly verſed in the hiſtory and geography of this country, placed it on the ſpot where now ſtands Torre del Greco; and, conſequently, two miles further than it really is, on the road to Salerno and Pompeii. He grounded this conjecture, on a very equivocal tradition of ſome inſcriptions having been found there, which in his opinion could be only referred to Herculaneum; and then concluded, on mere hear-ſay, that the ſituation thus laid down by him was not to be called in queſtion.

The name of the town Reſina entitles it, likewiſe, to ſome remarks. This place, in a manner, joins Portici, for there is nothing between them but the king's country ſeat: that part of the ſtreet which ſtretches from that ſeat towards Naples, being called *Portici*, and the reſt of it, on the other ſide, *Reſina*. Some imagine, that the latter derives its name *Reſina* from the *Villa Retina*

* Diſ. della Compan. felic. p. 319

Retina mentioned by Pliny, junior, in the letter, in which he deſcribes the eruption of Veſuvius, and gives an account of his uncle's death. Moſt writers, however, place this Villa under the Promontory of Miſenum; and that becauſe Pliny ſays, in the ſame letter, that the Roman fleet, which uſed to be ſtationed in the port of Miſenum, then happened to be at anchor near the Villa Retina. For my part, I cannot form to myſelf any idea of a Villa ſituated under a Promontory. That we are ſpeaking of ſtood at the foot of mount Veſuvius, as Pliny expreſsly affirms. Beſides, as Miſenum lay twelve Italian miles from Veſuvius, the dangers, to which the ſhips and thoſe on board them were expoſed, could never have been ſo great, as theſe deſcriptions make them; for it is no where affirmed, that Naples, Puozzoli, Cumæ, or Baiæ, all ſituated between Herculaneum and Miſenum, ſuffered on the occaſion.

M. Martorelli, who diſcuſſes this difficulty, in his work on the *Regia Theca* *, not content with deriving Reſina from Retina, is, unneceſſarily, for correcting the paſſage. He thinks, that we not only may, but ought to read *Petina*, that is to ſay, *Villa Petina*; and he places this country ſeat near Herculaneum. Papirius Pætus, Cicero's friend, had one hereabouts, as appears by two of Cicero's letters †. Papirius Pætus was of Pompey's party; and this was one of the oppoſite party's motives for ſeizing his effects, among which, it is probable, they reckoned his Villa. M. Martorelli even pretends, that it was confiſcated

* Pag. 368. † Ad Att. L. 14. ep. 16. ep 25.

confiſcated by Ceſar; that, under this emperor's ſucceſſors, it became a fief of the imperial chamber; and that in proceſs of time, eſpecially at the period we are ſpeaking of, ſome veſſels belonging to the Miſenum fleet uſed to lie at anchor before it. This conjecture is not, perhaps, very far fetched; but, then, it might have very well been ſpared.

The ancient area of Pompeii is about twelve miles from Naples, and ſeven from Portici. Pompeii lies in the road leading to Salerno, which road runs through the Torre dell'Annunciata. M. Reimarus, therefore, in his remarks upon Dion Caſſius *, muſt be greatly miſtaken in regard to the poſition of Pompeii, as he places it between Portici and Torre del Greco; ſince the diſtance between theſe two places does not exceed two Italian miles. He is again miſtaken, when, in the ſame place, he affirms, that Pompeii ſtood where we now ſee Caſtellamare and Stabia, an error borrowed by him from ſome other writers †: A good map will be ſufficient to give the reader juſter notions of the matter. Nothing can be more ridiculous than M. Martorelli's derivation of the word Pompeii. He makes no ſcruple to derive it from the Hebrew word פום פיח *os favillæ* ‡. He, likewiſe, derives the word Herculaneum from חרה קליא *Prægnans igne*; Stabia from שטף *inundare*; and Veſuvius from בו שביב *Ubi ignis*, as *Ætna* is called in Hebrew a furnace, which word (אתונא) is often employed by Daniel. Thus, men of letters, for the ſake of

* Page 1096. † Holſten. ad Cluver. ‡ p. 566.

of advancing ſomething new, are often ſatisfied to renounce common ſenſe.

This town, according to Strabo, was the common Mart of Nola, Nocera, and Acerra; goods being brought to it from the ſea by the river Sarno. We cannot, therefore, conclude from this paſſage, as Pellegrini pretends, that Pompeii lay near the ſea, and at the mouth of that very river; and that, if the ruins of that place have been found at a diſtanc from the ſhore, it is to the throes of mount Veſuvius we muſt attribute it.

A Capitol has been diſcovered here. Ryckius *, who collected the names of all thoſe places, which, in imitation of Rome, had erected buildings of this kind, has, however, omitted Pompeii. This capitol, and the vaſt ruins of an amphitheatre, are ſo many proofs of the grandeur of Pompeii. The amphitheatre is a large oval ſtructure ſituated on a riſing ground. Its lower circumference on the inſide, meaſures three thouſand Neapolitan palms. It had twenty four rows of ſeats; and could, it has been calculated, hold thirty thouſand perſons, ſo that it muſt be much more ſpacious than that of Herculaneum, as I ſhall preſently demonſtrate. Nay, this ſuperiority appears by a bare view of the two buildings. Seneca tells us, that this place was almoſt entirely deſtroyed byan earthquake under Nero; and hence ſome authors have concluded †, that there is an anachroniſm, in what Dion relates concerning this amphitheatre and that of Herculaneum. This hiſtorian, who, in ſpeaking

* de Capit. C, 47. † Diſc. 2. p. 327.

ing of the firſt erruption of Veſuvius recorded in hiſtory, and which happened under Titus, ſays, (ſuch at leaſt is the meaning generally attributed to him) that the prodigious quantity of aſhes belched out by the mountain buried the two cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii; and that, whilſt the inhabitants of the latter happened to be aſſembled in their amphitheatre. Pellegrini, who thinks he can diſcover in the paſſage ſo cited, that this accident muſt have been equally fatal to the amphitheatre, cannot, however, agree to the fact. He cannot conceive, that, in a place already deſtroyed, ſo vaſt an amphitheatre could have been built in ſo ſhort an interval of time, as that between the reigns of Nero and Titus. Tillemont * mentions the ſame fact after Dion; and mentions it as grounded on relations of undoubted authority. M. Martorelli, without citing Pellegrini, or taking any notice of his doubts, ſeems to be of the ſame opinion; at leaſt, there is reaſon to conclude it, from the correction he is for making in the relation of Dion. He maintains, that we may read in his paſſage † ταύτης inſtead of αὐτῆς; in which caſe, the amphitheatre of Herculaneum would be the amphitheatre here meant. This opinion of Pellegrini is not altogether improbable. Dion, who wrote under Commodus, and conſequently a long time after the event he mentions, might

* Hiſt. des Emp, dans Tite.

† Dio. p. 1095. l. 39 Edit. Reimar. Καὶ προσέτι (τέφρα ἀμύθητος) καὶ πόλεις δύο ὅλας τό, τε Ηρκουλάνον καὶ Πομπηΐους ἐν θεάτρῳ τῷ ὁμίλῳ αὐτῆς κατημένῳ κατέχωσε.

have

have been eaſily miſtaken. It is evident, were the thing proved, the correction of Martorelli would be exact, and agreeable to the ordinary rules of ſpeech. But, ſhould it be true, that the amphitheatre of Herculaneum was covered with aſhes, at a time it was crowded with ſpectators, how comes it to paſs, conſidering the ſpaciouſneſs of it, that there has not been found a ſingle human bone therein, whereas ſome human ſkeletons have been found at Stabia, that were very well preſerved.

Stabia, formerly called, in the plural, Stabiæ, was ſituated at a ſtill greater diſtance from Veſuvius, than Pompeii; but not on the ſpot where now ſtands Caſtellamare, as Cluvier pretends. Caſtellamare ſtands on the ſea-ſhore, whereas Stabia, according to Galien, lay at the diſtance of eight ſtadia or furlongs from it. It lay on the ſpot now occupied by Gragnano; which agrees very well with the diſtance aſſigned it by Galien. This town was deſtroyed by Sylla, in the war againſt the Marſi; and, in the days of Pliny, nothing was to be ſeen on the ſpot where it formerly flouriſhed, but ſome country ſeats.

Further on, towards Sorrento, and near Prayano*, ſome ſubterraneous apartments were diſcovered, about five years ago, but the works upon them were diſcontinued, to avoid the neceſſity of increaſing the number of workmen. The opening into them has been, therefore, walled up, and the digging into them poſtponed to another time.

PART

* This place is called Maiano in the map prefixed to the firſt vol. of the Paintings of Herculaneum.

PART II.

AS to the ſecond article, viz. the Deſtruction of the places I am ſpeaking to you of, I have not undertaken to preſent you with the hiſtory of them from ancient writers. I ſhall only endeavour to give you an idea of them from ſuch obſervations, as I myſelf have had an opportunity of making upon them.

It was not by the lava, or fiery ſtream of melted ſtones, that Herculaneum was firſt overflowed. It was firſt covered by the burning aſhes belched forth by the mountain, and next by torrents of water, which to the aſhes, that firſt fell on it, added all thoſe that fell on the mountain itſelf; and left the whole upon this wretched city. The firſt aſhes were ſo hot, that they ſet fire to the beams of the buildings, which were, accordingly found burnt to a coal, as likewiſe the corn and other vegetables. Theſe torrents, it appears, did not direct their courſe towards Pompeii and Stabia; for, in theſe two places, every thing is covered with a light kind of aſhes, called *Papamonté*. Beſides, it is impoſſible, that the lava ſhould flow to ſo great a diſtance. Accordingly, every thing was found much better preſerved in theſe two places, than in Herculaneum. After this laſt had been covered with ſhowers of aſhes, and deluged with torrents of water, there broke out fiery ſtreams of lava, which, rolling ſlowly, ſpread over the former by degrees, and formed a kind of cruſt over it.

it. In the terrible eruption of 1631, which had been preceded by a calm of one hundred years, the aſhes were likewiſe followed by a lava.

There is reaſon to believe, from the ſmall number of dead bodies found in theſe places, that the inhabitants had time to retire. Not a ſingle ſkeleton has been yet found at Portici, at Reſina, or Pompeii. At Gragnano, or Stabia, indeed, there were found the bodies of three women, one of whom, a ſervant, no doubt, to the other two, was probably, carrying a little wooden box, which was found lying by her, and which on being touched, fell to duſt. The two others had gold bracelets and ear-rings, which are to be ſeen in the cabinet. Hence we may account for nothing having been found but ſome gold medals, ſome engraved ſtones, and very little rich furniture; for the inhabitants, before they withdrew themſelves, took care to ſend off their moſt valuable effects. Accordingly, moſt of the houſes appeared almoſt naked. In one apartment, the workmen met with an iron-box thrown down on the floor; which, at firſt ſight, they hoped might contain ſomething valuable enough to entitle them to a handſome reward for their diſcovery; but, on opening, it proved empty. The flight of the inhabitants of Pompeii was very precipitate, as may be judged by the great quantity of heavy houſhold furniture dug up at ſome diſtance from the houſes, and which, in all probability, they thought it beſt to abandon for their own ſafety.

From

From the ſearches made into the laſt of theſe places it appears, that the eruption of Veſuvius, by which it was entirely deſtroyed, was the only one it had ſuffered by, though the ancients had but very ſlight notions of any ſuch calamity; their ſuſpicions being founded on nothing but the ſcoria, with which the mountain was covered. They might, however, have eaſily attained a greater degree of certainty in that reſpect. Strabo concluded, that Veſuvius was once a vulcano, from its aſhy ſoil, and from its caverns filled with ſtones, which, beſides being of the ſame colour, looked as if they had been calcined. Diodorus juſt ſays, that on it are found marks of an ancient conflagration. As to Pliny, though he loſt his life by the eruption of Veſuvius, and ſpeaks in two places of the mountain itſelf, he makes no mention of its former fires; ſo that he appears to have been equally ignorant of its nature. The ſtrongeſt proof in favour of my opinion is, that all the ground, on which the town of Pompeii ſtands, is burnt, full of ſcoria; and, in fine, what they now call *Terra di fuoco*. This circumſtance alone might have convinced thoſe, who have opened the earth hereabouts for the purpoſe of building, that Veſuvius, in very remote times, committed great ravages in theſe places. What is more, the ſtreets, both of Herculaneum and Pompeii, are paved with great lava ſtones, eaſily diſtinguiſhable from other marbles and hard ſtones, by being of a particular mixture exhibiting little white ſpots on a greyiſh ground, the nature of which ſeems to have eſcaped the notice

of the ancients. One only of theſe ſtones, two Roman palms and three inches broad, has been drawn out of Herculaneum, to be placed in the cabinet of Portici. It would not have been beſide Father de la Torré's purpoſe, in his deſcription of Veſuvius, to cite the lava pavement found in theſe ſubterraneous places. This circumſtance, too, might alone have convinced him, that the modern lava is not harder than the ancient. Father de la Torré * reaſons well; but his premiſes are ſometimes contradicted by experience. The pieces of lava employed in the buildings of Pompeii ſufficiently prove, that there have been eruptions prior to the reign of Titus.

PART III.

HAVING aſcertained the ſituation of the places buried by the eruptions of Veſuvius, and ſhewn in what manner the calamity happened: I ſhall now proceed to give ſome account of the diſcoveries made of theſe places from time to time, down to the preſent.

There have appeared, on opening the earth, manifeſt traces of diſcoveries, or rather ſearches, having been made prior to thoſe lately undertaken at Herculaneum. Theſe ancient ſearches are laid down in the map of the ſubteraneous cities, drawn up by the king's orders, and which I have had an opportunity to examine. They conſiſt of galleries ſcooped out with much labour, which indicate the object of them ſo plainly, as not to leave room for the leaſt

* Storia del Veſuvio, c. 5. §. 122. p. 98.

leaſt doubt concerning it; but they, at the ſame time, leave no hopes of the moderns ever being able to diſcover all, that the mountain has overwhelmed. There is an inſcription, which ſeems to indicate theſe ancient ſearches. It has been already printed, but the light it throws on the ſubject before us will excuſe my giving it in this place.

SIGNA TRANSLATA EX ABDITIS
LOCIS AD CELEBRITATEM
THERMARUM SEVERIANARUM
AUDENTIUS SÆMILANUS V. C. CON.
CAMP. CONSTITUIT. DEDICARIQUE PRECEPIT. (ſic)
CURANTE T. ANNONIO CRYSANTIO V. P.

Fabretti, who firſt publiſhed this inſcription from a manuſcript*, and who explains it in his notes †, owns, that he does not underſtand the firſt words of it. Mazocchi ‖ makes the ſame confeſſion; he pretends, that the baths here mentioned are thoſe begun at Rome by Septimus Severus, and finiſhed by Antonius Caracalla, his ſon and ſucceſſor. Hence it is, that theſe baths, which were formerly, and are ſtill, called *Antoniana*, are likewiſe more commonly called the baths of *Caracalla*. Nobody could tell where this deſcription had been originally diſcovered, till M. Martorelli found it at a ſtatuary's at Naples, juſt time enough to reſcue it from the ſaw. Conſequently, it muſt relate to ſome events that happened in that city, or

* Inſcrip. p. 280. n. 173. † ibid. p. 334.
‖ De Theatr. Camp. p. 170.

its neighbourhood. M. Martorelli is, therefore, of opinion, that *Signa tranſlata ex abditis locis* can only be referred to ſtatues dug out of places overwhelmed by ſome erruption, particularly Herculaneum. As to the baths of Severus, he does not underſtand it of thoſe of Septimus Severus, but thoſe of Alexander Severus; notwithſtanding which he cites Spartian, who can only ſpeak of the firſt of theſe princes, ſince his hiſtory does not come down to the reign of the ſecond. He ſhould have conſulted Lampridius, who ſpeaks of the *Alexandrian* baths at Rome. M. Martorelli goes ſtill further: "We know," ſays he, "that Audentius Sæ-"milanus, a man who had been honoured with "the conſular dignity, lived in the time of "Severus." But he neither tells us, which of the Severuses, nor from what author he has taken this paſſage. Thoſe Alexandrian baths at Rome were, therefore, thoſe, to which the ſtatues of Herculaneum were carried, and in which they were placed by the architect Chryſanthus. Thus, then, this inſcription, and the old ſubterraneous galleries made at Herculaneum, and lately diſcovered, mutually explain each other. The remembrance of theſe hidden treaſures was ſoon after blotted from the memory of man by the barbariſm and ignorance, which overſpread all Europe.

A well dug for the prince of Elbeuf, at a ſmall diſtance from his houſe, was the firſt thing, that gave occaſion to the diſcovery they are now purſuing. The prince had built this houſe in order to make his conſtant reſidence in it.

It

It lay behind the Franciſcan convent, at the extremity of, and upon, a rock of lava near the ſea. It afterwards fell into the hands of the houſe of Falletti of Naples, from whom the preſent king of Spain purchaſed it, in order to make a fiſhing ſeat of it. The well in queſtion had been ſunk near the garden of the barefooted Carmelites. To form it, they were obliged to dig through the lava to the live rock, where the workmen found, under the aſhes of mount Veſuvius, three large cloathed female ſtatues. Theſe the Auſtrian viceroy very juſtly laid claim to, and, keeping part of them in his hands, ordered them to Rome, where they were repaired. They were then preſented to prince Eugene, who placed them in his gardens, at Vienna. On his death, his heireſs ſold them * to the king of Poland for ſix thouſand crowns or florins; which, I cannot poſitively ſay. Seven years after my ſetting out for Italy, they ſtood in a pavillon of the great royal garden, without the city of Dreſden, along with the ſtatues and buſts of the palace of Chigi, for which the late Auguſtus, king of Poland, had given ſixty thouſand crowns. This collection was added to ſome ancient monuments, which cardinal Alexander Albani had ceded to the ſame prince for ten thouſand crowns.

On the diſcovery of theſe antiquities, orders were given to the prince of Elbeuf, not to dig any further. Thirty years, however, were ſuffered

* Theſe ſtatues may be ſeen in the collection of ancient marbles, belonging to the king of Poland's gallery at Dreſden, publiſhed by Baron Leplat, in 1733. It is with great concern we hear, that ſuch precious remains of antiquity were deſtroyed during the laſt war.

ſuffered to elapſe, before any more notice was taken of them. At length, the preſent king of Spain, as ſoon as by the conqueſt of Naples he found himſelf in peaceable poſſeſſion of it, choſe Portici for his ſpring reſidence; and, as the well was ſtill in being, ordered the works begun at the bottom of it to be continued, till they reached ſome buildings. This well ſtill ſubſiſts. It runs down perpendicularly through the lava to the middle of the theatre, (the firſt building diſcovered,) which receives no light but by it. Here an inſcription was found containing the name of Herculaneum, which, by giving room to gueſs what place they had hit upon, determined his majeſty to proceed further.

The direction of this work was given to a Spaniſh engineer, called Roch Joachim Alcubierre, who had followed his majeſty to Naples, and is now colonel, and chief of the body of engineers at Naples. This man, who, (to uſe the Italian proverb,) knew as much of antiquities, as the moon does of lobſters, has been, through his want of capacity, the occaſion of many antiquities being loſt. A ſingle fact will be ſufficient to prove it. The workmen having diſcovered a large public inſcription, (to what buildings it belonged, I can't ſay) in letters of braſs two palms high; he ordered theſe letters to be torn from the wall, without firſt taking a copy of them, and thrown pell mell into a baſket; and then preſented them, in that condition, to the king. They were afterwards expoſed for many years in the cabinet, where every one was at liberty to put them together as he pleaſed.

Some

Some imagined, they made theſe two words, IMP. AUG. I ſhall preſently relate how a brazen four-horſe chariot was ſerved, by the ſame engineer's directions.

Don Roch having in time attained a higher rank, the ſuperintendance and conduct of the works in queſtion were committed to a Swiſs officer, called Charles Weber, now a major; and it is to his good ſenſe, that we are indebted for all the good ſteps ſince taken, to bring to light this treaſure of antiquities. The firſt thing he did was, to make an exact map of all the ſubterraneous galleries, and the buildings they led to. This map he rendered ſtill more intelligible, by a minute hiſtorical account of the whole diſcovery. The ancient city is to be ſeen in it as if freed from all the rubbiſh, with which it is actually incumbered. The inſide of the buildings, the moſt private rooms, and the gardens, as well as the particular ſpots, where every thing taken out of them was found, appear in this map, juſt as they would, if they were laid quite bare. But nobody is permitted to ſee thoſe drawings.

The happy iſſue of the works undertaken at Herculaneum proved a motive for opening the earth in other places; and the doing this ſoon enabled them to aſcertain the ſituation of the ancient Stabia, and led them, at Pompeii, to the vaſt remains of an amphitheatre, built on a hill, part of which, however, had been always viſible above ground. The diggings in theſe places proved far leſs expenſive, than the diggings in Herculaneum, as there was

no

no lava to dig through. The ſubterraneous works at Pompeii are thoſe, which promiſe moſt; for here they are not only ſure of proceeding ſtep by ſtep in a great city, but have found out the principal ſtreet of it, which runs in a ſtrait line. But, notwithſtanding all this certainty of their being able to find treaſures unknown to our anceſtors, the works for that purpoſe are carried on in a very ſlow and indolent manner; there being but fifty men, including the Algerine and Tuniſian ſlaves, employed in all theſe ſubterraneous places. Great a city as Pompeii is known to have been, I, in my laſt journey, found but eight men at work on the ruins of it.

To compenſate this neglect, the method obſerved in digging is ſuch, that it is impoſſible the leaſt ſpot ſhould eſcape unnoticed. On both ſides of one principal trench, carried on in a right line, the workmen alternately hollow out chambers, ſix palms in length, breadth, and height; removing the rubbiſh, as they proceed, from every one of theſe chambers, to the chamber oppoſite it, that was laſt hollowed out. This method is taken, not only with a view of leſſening the expence, but of ſupporting the earth over one chamber, with the rubbiſh taken out of another.

I know, that ſtrangers, particularly travellers, who can take but a curſory view of theſe works, wiſh, that all the rubbiſh was entirely removed, ſo as to give them an opportunity of ſeeing, as in the plan of which I have been ſpeaking, the inſide of the whole ſubteraneous city of Hercu-

Herculaneum. They are apt to impeach the taſte of the Court, and of thoſe who direct theſe works. But this is a mere prejudice, which a rational examination of the nature of the ſpot, and other circumſtances, would ſoon conquer. I muſt, however, agree with foreigners in regard to the theatre; for it might have been entirely cleared; and it was, certainly, a thing well worth the expence. I am, therefore, very far from being ſatisfied with their juſt diſencumbering the ſeats, the form of which could be ſo eaſily gathered from the many other ancient theatres ſtill in being; whereas they have left the ſtage as they found it, though the moſt eſſential part of the whole building, and the only one, of which we have no clear and preciſe ideas. They have, it is true, done ſomething towards giving this ſatisfaction to the curious and the learned, having cleared the ſteps leading from the Arena, or Pit, to the ſtage, ſo that we may hope to enjoy, one day or another, though under ground, a ſight of the whole theatre of Herculaneum.

As to the whole town, I muſt beſeech thoſe who long for a free view of it, to conſider, that, the roofs of the houſes having given way under the enormous weight of the ſuperincumbent lava, nothing could be ſeen in that caſe but the walls. Beſides, as thoſe walls which had paintings on them have been cut out, and carried off, that ſuch ineſtimable pieces might not ſuffer by the air or rain, no walls, but thoſe of the pooreſt and meaneſt houſes, would appear entire. Now, I leave any one to judge, how exceſſively

expenſive

expenſive it would be to blow up ſuch a thick and extenſive cruſt of lava, and remove the vaſt quantity of aſhes accumulated under it. And, after all, what would the advantage of it be? That of laying bare a parcel of old ruinous walls, merely to ſatisfy the ill-judged curioſity of ſome virtuoſi, at the expence of a well built and very populous city. The theatre, indeed, might be entirely laid open at no expence but that of the garden belonging to the barefooted Carmelites, under which it lies.

Thoſe, who have a mind to ſee the walls of ancient buildings formerly buried in the ſame manner, may ſatisfy their curioſity at Pompeii. But few perſons, except Engliſhmen, have reſolution enough to go ſo far on that account. At Pompeii the ground may be dug up, and turned topſy-turvy, without any riſk, and at a ſmall expence, the land lying over it being of little value. Formerly, indeed, it uſed to produce the moſt delicious wine; but that it now produces is ſo middling, that the country would ſuffer very little by the entire deſtruction of its vineyards. I muſt add, that this country is more ſubject than any other to thoſe dangerous exhalations called *Muffeta* by the inhabitants, which burn up all the productions of the earth. This I had an opportunity of obſerving on a great number of elms, which, ſix years before, I had ſeen in a very thriving way. Theſe exhalations generally precede an eruption, and are firſt felt in places under ground. Accordingly, a few days before the laſt eruption, ſome of the inhabitants dropt down dead on entering their cellars.

It appears by the indolent manner in which theſe works are conducted, that a fine field of diſcovery muſt remain to poſterity. As great treaſures might, perhaps, be diſcovered at the ſame expence, by digging at Pozzuoli, Baiæ, Cuma, and Miſenum, where the Romans had their fineſt country ſeats. But the court is ſo well ſatisfied with the diſcoveries now making, that it has forbid the earth to be dug any where elſe below a certain depth. Certain it is, that, in the diſtricts I have been mentioning, there are ancient buildings, hitherto little, or not at all, noticed, as appears by what I am going to relate. An Engliſh Captain, whoſe ſhip lay at anchor two years ago in theſe parts, diſcovered under Baiæ a ſpacious and beautiful hall, acceſſible only by water, in which there ſtill remained very fine ornaments in ſtucco. It is only ſince my return from Naples that I heard of this diſcovery, of which, however, I have ſeen the drawing. Mr Adams, of Edinburgh in Scotland, gave me a circumſtantial account of it. He is a lover of the arts, particularly architecture, and intends to viſit Greece, and Aſia Minor.

FOURTH PART.

First Section.

As yet, I have ſpoken of nothing but the diſcovery of Herculaneum, and the manner, in which the ſubterraneous works undertaken in conſequence of it are carried on. I ſhall now proceed

proceed to give a circumſtantial account of the things, that have been diſcovered in it. But I muſt firſt repeat, that not only I ſhall not ſpeak of every thing, but propoſe to omit entirely thoſe things, of which I have taken notice in my other works.

I ſhall firſt take a ſurvey of the ſubterraneous places themſelves, and give an idea of the buildings in them, under the general title of *Immoveable Diſcoveries* *. I ſhall make the neceſceſſary remarks on the ſtile of architecture in theſe buildings, without omitting the ſmalleſt or meaneſt of them. Whatever the aſhes, the lava, or the earth has overwhelmed, ſhall be fully diſplayed. I ſhall forget nothing I have been able to diſcover concerning thoſe things, of which the greateſt myſtery is made. None of the moſt conſiderable monuments expoſed in the cabinet of Portici, whether paintings, ſtatues, buſts, or ſmaller figures, ſhall eſcape me. To theſe I ſhall add ſome inſcriptions; and, after ſpeaking of the houſhold utenſils, conclude the whole with a circumſtantial account of the manuſcripts, which have been likewiſe diſcovered. But, I muſt firſt obſerve, that the Neapolitan palm, which I generally make uſe of, is two inches longer than the Roman †.

The theatre of Herculaneum, whether we conſider the date of its diſcovery, or the magnificence of its ſtructure, is, of all the immoveable monuments, the firſt to challenge our attention.

* The author means ſuch monuments of antiquity, as will not admit being removed.

† The Neapolitan palm makes ten French inches.

It has twenty-four rows of ſeats, each four Roman palms broad, and one high. Theſe ſeats are hewn out of the live rock, which is of free-ſtone, and not formed of hard ſtones, as Martorelli pretends. Above theſe ſeats is a portico, under which there were three more rows of ſeats. Amongſt the lower ſeats there are ſeven flights of ſtairs, of a particular form, for the conveniency of the ſpectators *. Theſe are what they called *Vomitoria*. The ſeat next the pit forms a ſemi-circle of ſixty-two Neapolitan palms diameter; from which, and the dimenſions and number of the other rows, it has been calculated, that, allowing a palm and a half to every ſpectator, this theatre could give ſeats to thirty thouſand five hundred perſons, excluſive of thoſe in the *Arena* or *Platea* †. This interior ſpace was anciently paved with very thick ſquares of antique yellow marble, the remains of which are ſtill to be ſeen in ſeveral parts of it. The porticos ſcooped out in the ſtory under the ſeats were paved with ſquares of white marble. The corniſh, that runs round the upper portico, and which is ſtill in being, is likewiſe marble.

This vaſt building was ſurmounted by a quadriga, or four-horſe chariot, with its charioteer, as big as life; the whole of gilt bronze. The baſe of white marble, on which it ſtood, is ſtill to be ſeen. Some perſons affirm, that, inſtead

* That is to ſay, in order to give the ſpectators free egreſs and regreſs.

† It is that part which Vitruvius calls the *Orcheſtra*, and which anſwers to what we call the *Pit*.

of

of one four-horſe chariot, there were three two-horſe chariots; a diſagreement ſufficient to prove the little ſkill and care of thoſe, who firſt conducted the works. Theſe pieces of ſtatuary were, as we may eaſily imagine, overturned by the lava; however, none of them could be wanting. Yet, how were theſe precious remains treated by thoſe, who then preſided over the works? They were thrown pell-mell into a cart; brought in that manner to Naples; and ſhot down into a corner of the court belonging to the caſtle. Here they remained for a long time in the character of old iron; and it was not, till ſeveral pieces that had been ſtolen were miſſed, that a reſolution was taken to make an honourable uſe of what remained. This honourable uſe conſiſted in melting down great part of it into two buſts of the king and queen. One may eaſily gueſs, what has been the fate of theſe two pieces, which I could never get a ſight of. In fact, they are become inviſible. Care was taken to bury them in ſome hole, as ſoon as the ſhameful neglect, of which they were the monuments, came to be taken notice of. The remains of the chariot, the horſes, and the driver, were then, at length, ſent to Portici, and depoſited in the cellars of the caſtle, where nobody was permitted to ſee them. A long time after this, the inſpector of the cabinet propoſed, that one horſe, at leaſt, ſhould be made out of the pieces which ſtill remained; and, his ſcheme being approved, ſome founders, ſent for from Rome to be employed in works of that kind, were ſet about it. As ſeveral of the pieces requiſite

quiſite to compoſe an entire horſe were wanting, there was a neceſſity for caſting others to ſupply the place of them. By ſo doing, however, a tolerably fine horſe was at laſt formed. This horſe ſtands in the inner court of the cabinet, on a pedeſtal bearing the following inſcription, in letters of gilt bronze, compoſed by the famous Mazocchi.

EX. QUADRIGA. AENEA.
SPLENDIDISSIMA.
CUM. SUIS. JUGALIBUS.
COMMINUTA. AC. DISSIPATA.
SUPERSTES. ECCE. EGO. UNUS.
RESTO.
NONNISI. REGIA. CURA.
REPOSITIS. APTE. SEXCENTIS.
IN. QUAE. VESUVIUS. ME.
ABSYRTI. INSTAR.
DISCERPSERAT.
MEMBRIS.

The word SEXCENTIS, uſed in this inſcription to denote an indeterminate number, is liable to ſome objection, as ſaying too much; for it is certain there were not ſo many as one hundred pieces employed to form this horſe. The metaphor INSTAR. ABSYRTI. might likewiſe be cenſured, not only as ſuperfluous, but as not admitted into the lapidary ſtile. Beſides, the inverſion of the words from SEXCENTIS to MEMBRIS is too bold and poetical.

This

This horſe, thus patched up, appeared, at firſt, as if formed at a ſingle caſt. But, as it is no eaſy matter to make new-caſt metal take well with pieces of metal that have been long broken, the joints have given way, ſo that, on the falling of a great rain in March, 1759, (I was then on the ſpot) ſo much water made its way through the openings, as to give the poor horſe the dropſy. No ſtone was left unturned to hide the diſgrace of ſo wretched a piece of patch-work. The gates of the cabinet were kept ſhut for three days together, that the workmen ſpent in tapping the dropſical animal, which was all the relief they could give him, ſo that he ſtill remains with all his blemiſhes, in a manner, about him. Such is the hiſtory of the famous four-horſe chariot, in gilt bronze, which originally crowned the theatre of Herculaneum.

Near the theatre ſtood a temple, of a round figure, which, it is believed, was dedicated to Hercules. From the inner walls of this temple were taken the largeſt pieces of painting engraved in the firſt volume of the antiquities of Herculaneum, publiſhed by order * of his Sicilian Majeſty. One of the moſt capital repreſents Theſeus, with the Athenian youth of both ſexes crowding about him to kiſs his hands, on his return from Crete, where he had killed the monſter; and this piece gives exactly the circumference of the wall on which it was painted. The other ſubjects are, the birth of Telephus, Chiron and Achilles, Pan and Olympus.

* This firſt volume is that publiſhed by orders of the King of Spain, and contains the firſt part of the paintings of Herculaneum.

The

The theatre, and this temple, made part of the chief ſquare of the city, in which were found equeſtrian ſtatutes of Nonius Balbus the elder, and Nonius Balbus the younger. The laſt of theſe ſtatues, happening to be in better preſervation than the other, was the firſt they repaired; and, when repaired; it was placed in the veſtibule of the King's palace, in a glaſs caſe. The other was placed, oppoſite to it, in a part of the building, which is not as yet entirely finiſhed. The graving of theſe two ſtatues in the *Symbolæ Litterariæ* of Gori, though done from memory, gives a tolerable idea of them.

Near this ſquare there ſtood a *Villa*, with a garden belonging to it, that extended to the ſea; and it was in this houſe they found the manuſcripts, of which I ſhall preſently ſpeak; the marble buſts placed in the anti-chamber of the late queen; and likewiſe ſome fine female ſtatues in bronze. It is proper I ſhould obſerve, that, in general, the buildings belonging to this country ſeat, as well as thoſe of ſeveral other private houſes in this place, and its environs, had but one ſtory. This country-ſeat contained a ſpacious piece of water, two hundred and fifty-two Neapolitan palms in length, and twenty-ſeven in breadth, terminating, at both ends, in the arch of a circle; ſurrounded with graſs and flower-plats; and, at a greater diſtance, by a row of brick columns, covered with ſtucco, twenty-two on the longeſt, and ten on the ſhorteſt, ſides. Theſe columns, along with the exterior wall, formed an arbour round the baſon, by means of beams running from one to

the other. Under theſe arbours were found ſmall cabinets of different forms, to converſe or bathe in; ſome of a ſemi-circular, and others of a ſquare area; as likewiſe the buſts and female figures, I have juſt been mentioning, placed alternately between the columns. A canal of a middling breadth circulated round the wall; and a long alley led to a round ſummer pavilion, or cabinet, built on the outſide of it, open on every ſide, and about twenty-five Neapolitan palms above the ſea. At the end of the long alley next this ſummer-cabinet, or pavilion, were four ſteps leading to the latter. Here it was they found the fine pavement of African marble, and antique yellow, of which I have already taken notice, and ſhall ſpeak again, when I come to deſcribe the ſecond chamber of the cabinet of Portici, where it is now to be ſeen. It conſiſted of twenty-two circular rows, one within another, the exterior one four and twenty palms in diameter, with a large roſe in the center. When firſt diſcovered, it had a border of white marble, a Neapolitan palm and a half broad, and almoſt half a palm higher than the reſt. This work, as I have already taken notice, was covered with the lava diſcharged from Mount Veſuvius, and that to the height of one hundred and two Neapolitan palms. Near this country ſeat, and belonging to it, as I am told, there ſtood a little room, without any windows, about five palms in length and breadth, and twelve in height. From a fine bronze found in this building, and the ſerpents in the paintings ſtript

from

from the walls of it, we may conjecture, that it was conſecrated to the ſuperſtitious myſteries of Eleuſis. This country-ſeat is the only private building worth notice, that has been as yet diſcovered in Herculaneum.

As to the monuments of the ſame kind found in Pompeii, I ſhall confine myſelf to a little temple, or ſquare chapel, which was diſcovered in the year 1761. This temple belonged to a large *Villa*, or country-ſeat. The front, richly ornamented with different kinds of foliage, was ſupported by four ſtone columns, covered with ſtucco, a palm and a half in diameter, and ſeven palms ſeven inches high; the ſhafts fluted. One of them is to be ſeen in the cabinet of Portici. The body of this temple ſtood five ſteps above the ground. Two of theſe ſteps lay on the outſide of the colonnade; and the other three, which were of a circular form, within the middle intercolumniation, which was much longer than the other two; and led to the body of the temple; ſo that the middle intercolumniation ſtood the height of the three ſteps above the other two. Theſe ſteps were payed with ſquares of a common kind of marble, called *Cipolino*. Within this little temple there was found a marble Diana, of Etruſcan workmanſhip, on a pedeſtal, which was likewiſe of marble. Before it, towards the right hand corner, there ſtood another round temple; on the other ſide a wall; and, oppoſite to the temple, a ciſtern with four wells, or rather openings, in the angles of it, to facilitate the drawing of the water. The only build-

ing of two ſtories, found ſince they began to dig for antiquities, is in this place; and it is now laid quite bare. I happened to be on the ſpot in the month of February 1762, with the inſpector of the cabinet, whilſt the labourers were diſencumbering a room filled with paintings, and a kind of beaufet covered with marble, in which they found a ſun-dial.

At Gragnano, the Stabia of the ancients, they found a *Villa*, or country-ſeat, ſomewhat like that of Herculaneum. In the middle of the garden belonging to it, as in that of the Herculaneum *Villa*, there was a pond, divided into four equal parts, by as many little one-arch bridges. On one ſide of this baſon there were ten graſs or flower-plats; and, on the other, as many cabinets to converſe or bathe in; five of a ſemi-circular, and five of a ſquare, area, alternately diſpoſed. Both the plats and the cabinets were, each, provided with an arbour, conſtructed in the ſame manner with thoſe I have already mentioned, and ſupported, in front, by columns of the ſame kind. The garden was ſurrounded, both within and without the wall incloſing it, with a canal, which ſerved, in all appearance, to preſerve the rain-water, the only water, no doubt, uſed in this country; at leaſt no traces of any aqueducts are to be found in it. This opinion is, beſides, confirmed by a large ciſtern found in the *Atrium* or porch of this country-ſeat. The enormous reſervoir, called *Piſcina Mirabilis*, built near Miſenum, for the ſervice of the Roman fleet, was ſupplied with rain-water, which the ſoldiers

uſed

uſed to carry from thence on board the ſhips, as may be gueſſed from ſome pipes in the upper part of it, by which, in all probability, the water was made to paſs. This ſubterraneous reſervoir ſtands upon equidiſtant pillars forming five arched galleries, each thirteen Roman palms in breadth.

As to the different curioſities preſerved in the cabinet of Portici, they may be divided into two claſſes. In the firſt, I ſhall include every thing relating to the arts, and the different kinds of furniture and utenſils; and, in the ſecond, the manuſcripts. The pictures, big and little, with which I ſhall begin my obſervations, may amount to about a thouſand. They are all framed and glazed, except thoſe, which, being too large to be kept and ſhewn in that manner, ſuch as the Theſeus, the Telephus, the Chiron, and others, are encloſed in glaſs preſſes. Moſt of them are painted in diſtemper, as has already been taken notice by the learned men, who have given deſcriptions of them; and but a few in freſco. But, as it was ſo generally thought in the beginning, that all the paintings on the walls were executed in the laſt manner, that is to ſay, in freſco, they never gave themſelves the trouble to examine, if the thing was really ſo; ſo that ſomebody having offered a varniſh, which, he ſaid, would infallibly preſerve theſe paintings, they laid it, without farther enquiry, on all thoſe, which had been diſcovered; thereby rendering it impoſſible to diſcover the methods uſed in executing them by the ancient artiſts. The fineſt of theſe paintings repreſent dancing

women, and centaurs, about a ſpan in height, on a black ground; and muſt have been the work of ſome great maſter, for they are as light as thought itſelf, and as beautiful as if they had been done by the hands of the Graces. The paintings worthy of being placed in the next, or even the ſame, rank with the dancing women, are two pieces, the figures of which are ſomewhat larger than thoſe of the preceding *. One of theſe pieces repreſents a young ſatyr attempting to kiſs a young nymph; and the other, an old fawn in love with an Hermaphrodite. It is impoſſible to conceive any thing more voluptuous, or painted with more art. There are, likewiſe, a great many fruit and flower-pieces, all moſt exquiſite in their kind.

If, in ſuch a town as Herculaneum, and even on the walls of its houſes, ſuch fine paintings were to be found, to what a degree of perfection may we not conclude that fine art was carried in the brilliant ages of Greece? We have, indeed, a convincing proof of its having been carried to the higheſt, in four paintings diſcovered at Stabia, though not executed there. Theſe pieces were found, leaning, two by two, with the painted ſides inſide, againſt a wall, on the floor of a room in the country-ſeat, of which I have already taken notice; and from theſe circumſtances it may be conjectured, that they were taken from a wall in ſome other place, perhaps in Greece, to be ſet into the walls of this room, had not the eruption of Veſuvius prevented it. This important diſco-

* Pitt. Ercol. Tom. I. tav. 15, 16.

very

very was made in the year 1761. Theſe four pieces are ſurrounded with borders of different colours. Unfortunately, two of them are broken, and, of courſe, ſomewhat damaged. I have already deſcribed them in my *Hiſtory of the Arts among the Ancients*. The figures in them are about a palm and a half high, and ſo highly finiſhed, as to excel, in that reſpect, every thing of the kind hitherto diſcovered.

I muſt here take notice, that all the paintings on pieces of wall, which from *Italy* have ſpread beyond the Alps, into England, France, or Germany, are to be conſidered as ſpurious. The Count de Caylus got one of them engraved; and has given it as an antique, in his collection of antiquities, becauſe it had been ſold to him for a piece found at Herculaneum *. The Margrave of Bareith was impoſed upon in the ſame manner, during his ſtay at Rome, where he bought ſeveral of theſe pieces; and I have been ſince informed, that ſeveral other German Princes have been equally duped with theſe wretched performances; for they were all painted at Rome by Joſeph Guerra, a Venetian painter of very ſlender abilities, who died but laſt year. It is not, after all, any way ſurpriſing, that ſtrangers ſhould have been thus miſtaken, ſince a man of great learning, and a very able antiquary, Father Contucci, a Jeſuit, director of ſtudies and the cabinet in the Ro-

* This is a miſtake. The Count de Caylus never got any thing like it engraved; and, ſo far from ſuffering himſelf to be impoſed on, was the firſt, perhaps, to ſpeak of Guerra's impoſture. See what he ſays on the occaſion, in the fourth Tome of his Collection of Antiquities, p. 120.

man college, purchaſed above forty of theſe pieces, as ſo many jewels brought from Sicily, and even Palmyra. Nay, ſeveral of theſe pictures were ſent to Naples, and from thence brought back to Rome, to give a greater air of genuineneſs to them; and ſome of them were likewiſe decorated with characters, in nothing reſembling thoſe of any known language. Who knows but another Kircher might have ſtarted up to explain them, if the impoſture had not been timely diſcovered. Men of taſte, acquainted with the arts, and ſkilled in antiquities, need only examine them with a little attention, to diſcover the fraud; for Guerra has not ſhewn in them the leaſt knowledge of the manners and cuſtoms of the ancients. It plainly appears by them, that he was an ignorant fellow, who drew every thing from his own imagination, ſo that allowing the honour of being an antique to a ſingle piece of his would be ſufficient to contradict and overturn all our notions of antiquity. Amongſt the pieces of his doing, purchaſed by the Jeſuits, there is an Epaminondas, carried off from the field of Mantinea, in which Guerra has repreſented that Grecian captain, completely armed in ſteel, as our knights uſed to be in their tournaments. In another piece, repreſenting a combat of wild beaſts exhibited in an amphitheatre, we ſee a pretor or emperor, who preſides at it, with his hand reſting on the guard of a naked ſword, like thoſe in uſe during the thirty years war *. This

* He means the thirty years war in Germany, which was concluded by the peace of Weſtphalia, in 1648. At this time they wore ſwords with hilts of an enormous length.

forgerer

forgerer made genius conſiſt in repreſenting Priapuſes of an immoderate ſize, and beauty in ſlenderneſs, ſo that all his figures look like ſo many ſpindles. About two years ago, long after theſe pieces had been generally acknowledged at Rome for what they really are, an Engliſhman, who happened to be in that city, was, notwithſtanding, fool enough to give ſix hundred crowns for ſome of them. So much for the pictures.

I am now to ſpeak of the fineſt ſtatues, the moſt remarkable buſts, and ſome ſmall figures. Beſides the two equeſtrian ſtatues in marble, there are two figures of women, as big as life, conſpicuous for the beauty of their drapery. They ſtand in the gallery. In the court of the cabinet there is a mother of Nonius Balbus, as appears by a well preſerved inſcription on the pedeſtal. Part of her gown, or mantle, is thrown over her head; and, in order to cover it with the greater grace, is made to riſe in a point over the forehead. The ſame thing is to be ſeen on the head of the figure of Tragedy, in the baſſo-relievo of the Apotheoſis of Homer preſerved in the Colonna Palace at Rome. I ſhould not have taken notice of ſo trifling a circumſtance, had not Cuper * ſpoken of this pinched fold as ſomething very ſingular, and thought he could diſcover in it that kind of cap, called by the Greeks Ὄγκος, riſing over the forehead in the tragick maſks of both ſexes The drawing made for him, of this kind of head-dreſs, was what ed him aſtray, by repreſenting it much higher han it is in the marble, and formed by a plait,

* Apotheos. Hom. p. 81, and ſeq.

or

or fold, which it is not. There is likewiſe, amongſt the figures, a Pallas as big as life. It is the beſt of all the marble ſtatues, and, according to appearance, not of Italian workmanſhip. It looks almoſt ancient enough to be of the earlieſt ages of Greece. As a proof of what I advance, I muſt remark, that the face of this figure wears a certain character of rudeneſs, and that the folds of its drapery are ſtiff, and form, as it were, ſo many parallel tubes. The attribute of Pallas moſt remarkable in this figure is her ægis hanging from her neck, and thrown over her arm, by way of buckler, perhaps in the battle with the Titans; for ſhe is here repreſented as running, and raiſing the right arm to throw a javelin. There has likewiſe been found at Pompeii, in the little temple of which I have already ſpoken, a Diana, which is certainly of Etruſcan workmanſhip. I have given a circumſtantial account of it in my *Hiſtory of the Arts amongſt the Ancients*. As yet, no Egyptian pieces have been diſcovered, except a little male figure, in black ſmall-grained granite, with the buſhel or *modium* upon his head. This figure, including its antique baſe, is three palms and three inches high, Roman meaſure. It reſts on a round baſis, cut out of the ſame ſtone, of two palms and ſeven inches diameter.

You will here, Sir, be pleaſed to recollect, that the order from his majeſty, by which I had ſpecial admittance to the cabinet, was confined to thoſe things, which it was lawful to ſhew. I did not enquire into the reaſons of this reſtriction, as I could not but know it regarded the antiquities

tiquities ſtored up in the cellars of the caſtle, particularly an obſcene figure, which has been condemned to them. However, having acquired the confidence of the inſpector, I had the good fortune to be admitted to ſee them all, except this obſcene one, which was not to be ſeen without a ſpecial licence ſigned by his majeſty, and for which, as it had not been ſolicited by any one elſe, I thought it did not become me to be the firſt to apply. This piece, which is in marble, repreſents a Satyr, about three Roman palms in height, and a ſhe-goat; and is ſaid to be of moſt admirable workmanſhip. As ſoon as found, it was ſent, well wrapped up, to his majeſty, then with his court at Caſerta, who immediately ſent it back with the ſame precautions, to be put into the hands of Joſeph Canart, his ſculptor, at Portici, with expreſs orders not to let any one ſee it. We are not, therefore, to believe ſome Engliſh travellers, who tell us they have been allowed that favour.

The largeſt ſtatues in braſs repreſent emperors and empreſſes, all bigger than life; but, then, they are of middling workmanſhip, and preſent nothing worth notice, except rings on the right annular fingers of ſome of the emperors, with augural ſtaffs (*Litui*) on them. The fineſt ſtatues next to theſe are ſix female ſtatues, ſome as big as life, and ſome leſs. They form the ornament of the ſtair-caſe leading to the cabinet. Three male ſtatues, as big as life, one repreſenting an old Silenus, the other a young Satyr, and the third a Mercury, ſtand in the cabinet itſelf. The female figures are thoſe, which formerly ſtood

in

in the garden of the villa at Herculaneum, alternately with the buſts of marble, round the great baſon. They are cloathed, almoſt without action, or any attributes, by which one may gueſs whom they were intended for. In a word, they preſent no determinate object, though they are all adorned with diadems. One of them ſeems to be about throwing off a ſhort cloak hung over her ſhoulders, or faſtening it by a button. Another has hold of her hair. A third is tucking up her gown a little, as if going to dance. The Silenus is ſtretched on a leather bag, covered with a lion's ſkin. The fingers of his left hand are diſpoſed, as if he wanted to crack them; and ſuch was the poſition of the fingers in the ſtatue of Sardanapalus. The young Satyr is ſeated, and aſleep, with one arm hanging down by its own weight. But the ſtatue of Mercury, which was the laſt found, excels them all. This god is likewiſe ſeated. The moſt remarkable thing in this ſtatue is the manner, in which the wings are tied to the feet; the knots formed by the ſtraps lying under the ſoles in the form of a flattened roſe, as if to ſhew, that the wearer was not made to walk, but to fly.

The buſts are partly in marble, and partly in bronze. The firſt are as big as life, and are ſuffered to remain in the anti-chamber of the late queen, that the ſervant who ſhews them might not loſe his little perquiſites. The moſt remarkable amongſt them are, one of Archimedes, with a ſhort curled beard. His name had been written upon it in ink, or black paint; and, ſo late as five years ago, the firſt five letters, APXIM, were ſtill viſible,

viſible; but they are now entirely worn out by frequent touching. There was likewiſe a name on another male buſt, but it was with ſome difficulty the three following letters of it, AΘH, could be diſtinguiſhed; and of theſe not the leaſt trace is now to be ſeen. Another male buſt has the beard turned up, and knotted under the chin; a ſingularity obſervable in one of the buſts placed in the galleries of the capitol of Rome. Amongſt the female buſts there is a fine Agrippina the elder, her hair bound with a crown, ſeemingly, of oblong pearls.

The brazen buſts are of different ſizes; ſome as big as life, and others leſs; ſome of a middling ſize, and ſome even under it; but, in all theſe ſizes, eſpecially the firſt, this cabinet has greatly the advantage over all others. Amongſt the large heads, there are ſix extremely remarkable, eſpecially the three firſt, for the workmanſhip of the hair, the buckles of which have been ſoldered on at ſecond hand. One of theſe heads, and that the moſt ancient (for it has all the characters of the remoteſt antiquity) has fifty ring-buckles, which look as if they had been formed with wire of the thickneſs of a gooſe-quill. The ſecond has ſixty-eight buckles, but flatted, and reſembling a narrow ſtrip of paper, rolled up with the fingers, and then drawn out in order to lengthen it. The buckles hanging over the neck are compoſed of twelve revolutions. Theſe two heads repreſent two young beardleſs heroes. The buckles formed by the hair of the third head, which has a long beard, are ſoldered only on the ſides. The workmanſhip of this third head is

like-

likewiſe worth our notice, as infinitely ſuperior to that of all our modern artiſts. It is one of the moſt perfect pieces in the whole world; and I may take upon me to ſay, that it is impoſſible for the art of man to produce any thing, in any branch, ſuperior to it. They have given it to Plato; but I take it to be altogether ideal. The fourth buſt is that of Seneca. We have many repreſentations in marble of this philoſopher; and one, amongſt the reſt, in the Medici vineyard at Rome, which, though always conſidered as the moſt perfect, is infinitely inferior to this of Herculaneum. It may not, perhaps, be too bold to affirm, that the ſkill diſplayed in this piece is inimitable. Pliny, however, affirms, that the art of carving in braſs was greatly decayed by the reign of Nero. The two other buſts are of a very ancient form. They are, each, furniſhed with two moveable metal handles projecting from the ſides, in order to facilitate the moving of them from place to place. One of theſe buſts repreſents a young hero, and the other a woman. Both appear to be the work of the ſame maſter. The firſt of them carries the artiſt's name.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΟΥ
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ
ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ

"Apollonius, the ſon of Archias, of Athens, "made it." Both, in my opinion, were made at the time that the arts flouriſhed moſt in Greece; and as to the manner of forming the word ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ, I muſt beg leave to refer the reader

reader to what I have ſaid of it in my *Hiſtory of the Arts amongſt the Ancients*. Martorelli * thinks he can diſcover an Alcibiades in the head of this hero. And why? Becauſe, forſooth, the artiſt is an Athenian. M. Bajardi †, a Roman prelate, and Archbiſhop *in partibus*, has as little reaſon to take this head for that of a young Roman, and the female one for that of a Roman lady.

Amongſt the little buſts, there are ſeveral, which have nothing to recommend them but the name of thoſe they repreſent. Such is an Epicure, perfectly reſembling that of the Capitol; an Hermachus (EPMAXOC) the immediate ſucceſſor of Epicurus, and a Zeno, with his name. There are two buſts of Demoſthenes, worth particular notice. The ſmalleſt bears his name. A drawing of it is to be found at the end of this letter. I took the trouble to get it engraved, in order to ſhew, that the head of a young man without a beard, bearing the ſame name, and repreſented on a baſſo-relievo found in Spain, cannot be that of the Athenian orator, whatever Fulvius Urſinus and ſome other antiquarians may ſay of the matter. Demoſthenes muſt have been little known, before he was old enough to have a beard.

Beſides theſe buſts, there are in the magazines of the cabinet a great number of ſmall ones in baſſo-relievo, fixed upon round fields, like thoſe of a buckler, and furniſhed with hooks to hang them up by. Theſe are the buſts, which, on account of their ſhape, the ancients called *Clu-*

* *Thec. Calamar*, p. 426.
† Catal. des Monnum. d'Hercul, p. 169, 178.

peus †. Some of theſe *Clupei* exhibit the heads of emperors and empreſſes. There are, amongſt many others, two particularly remarkable for being in marble, and as big as life, in the Altieri vineyard; and one in the capitol of Rome.

I might ſay as many things of the little figures as of the ſtatues, eſpecially in regard to the cuſtoms of the ancients; the ſhape of their dreſs, and their ornaments. But, as a diſcuſſion of theſe matters would require more time than it is in the power of moſt travellers to beſtow upon them, I muſt refer the reader to the fourth chapter of my *Hiſtory of the Arts amongſt the Ancients*, which I have already ſo often cited, and confine myſelf to ſome figures which are particularly ſtriking. The fineſt, as well as largeſt, of theſe figures, and one of thoſe which has been lateſt diſcovered, is an Alexander on horſeback. The man wants an arm, and the horſe two legs. Theſe defects may be eaſily ſupplied. The man and horſe are, together, about two palms and a half high. This piece yields to no other of the monuments, either in deſign or execution. The eyes, both of the rider and his horſe, are incruſted in ſilver, and the bridle is of the ſame metal. The pedeſtal on which the horſe ſtood is ſtill to the fore. Another horſe, of the ſame ſize, but without the rider, which is loſt, forms the companion of the firſt, to which it is no way inferior. The horſes, in both theſe pieces, move in a diagonal line, and have clipped manes. Amongſt the figures, of which ſtrangers are made to take particular notice, there is a little Pallas, and a little Venus, each a palm, or thereabouts,

† See Winckelm. Deſcr. des Pier. ſtr. du Cab. de Stoch. p. 387.

high,

high. The firſt has a patera in the right hand, and a lance in the left. Her finger and toe-nails, the buckles of her helmet, and a border on the edge of her drapery, are very beautifully incruſted with ſilver. The arms and legs of the Venus are adorned with bracelets of gold wire. She ſtands upright, raiſing one of her legs, in order to tie on, or put off, her ſhoe. We are likewiſe to take notice of a burleſque repreſentation, or, if you pleaſe, parody, of Æneas carrying Anchiſes on his ſhoulders, and holding the little Aſcanius by the hand. Theſe three figures have aſſes heads; and, near the group formed by them, is an aſs, not an inch high, ſtanding erect on his fore feet, and covered with a little ſilver mantle. There is, amongſt theſe little figures, a Priapus, taken particular notice of by the connoiſſeurs and lovers of the arts and antiquity. Though but a finger in length, it is executed with ſo much art and accuracy, that Michael Angelo himſelf, with all his ſkill in anatomy, never could boaſt a more learned production. The drawings of this great man, preſerved in the cabinet of my Lord Cardinal Albani, are alone ſufficient to ſhew, how deeply he was verſed in that part of his profeſſion. This Priapus ſeems to be making a kind of ſign very common amongſt the Italians, but entirely unknown to the Germans. I am, therefore, in ſome manner at a loſs how to give them an idea of it. He is repreſented as pulling down the lower eyelid with the firſt finger of the right hand, ſupported by the cheek-bone, whilſt the head hangs on the ſame ſide. This geſture muſt have been in uſe amongſt the pantomimes of the ancients, and have had ſeveral ſignificant

meanings. The perſon making it ſaid nothing, but ſeemed to ſay, "Beware of him; he's a cunning fellow; he's too many for you:" or elſe, "He thinks to take me in, but he has caught a tartar:" Or, in fine, "You have hit the mark! you have choſen your man well." The ſame figure makes with the left hand what the Italians call *Far la fica*, an obſcene geſture, which conſiſts in placing the thumb between the firſt and middle fingers, ſo as to repreſent the tongue iſſuing from between the two lips. This diſpoſition of the fingers is likewiſe called *Far cuſtugne*, in alluſion to the ſlit made in the ſhell of cheſnuts, to prepare them for the fire. There is, in the ſame cabinet, a viril member, or Priapus, in bronze, ſoldered to a little hand making the ſame ſign. Hands of this kind are common in cabinets, and it is well known that the ancients uſed them as amulets; or, which is the ſame thing, wore them as preſervatives againſt ſpells, evil looks, and inchantments. Ridiculous as this ſuperſtitious practice muſt appear, it ſtill prevails amongſt the poorer ſort of people in the kingdom of Naples. I have been ſhewn ſeveral of theſe Priapuſes, which ſome of them were ſimple enough to carry on their arms, or in their boſoms. It is ſtill more common with them to faſten to their arms a little ſilver creſcent, which they call *Luna pezzura*, that is, a pointed moon, by way of preſervative againſt the epilepſy. But then, this moon muſt have been made with alms of the wearer's own gathering, and then bleſt by a prieſt. This abuſe, though known, is tolerated notwithſtanding. Perhaps, the ſilver half-moons, of which ſuch numbers are preſerved in the

the cabinet of Portici, were conſecrated to the ſame ſuperſtitious purpoſe. The Athenians uſed to wear them faſtened to the ſole of their ſhoes, between it and the inſtep.

Some of theſe Priapuses have wings, and little bells ſuſpended by interwoven chains; and very often their hinder parts terminate in the rump of a lion ſcratching himſelf with his left paw, juſt as pigeons do, when they ſcratch themſelves under the wing, in order, it is ſaid, to increaſe their paſſion. The bells are of metal, ſet in ſilver. It is probable, that the intention of them was to drive away evil ſpirits, juſt as that of the little bells * worn by the ancients, under their bucklers, was to ſtrike terror. Theſe little bells made likewiſe part of the dreſs of thoſe † initiated in the myſteries of Bacchus.

I muſt not omit taking notice, that moſt of the works in bronze, preſerved in the cabinet of Portici, have been repaired; and that the doing of it has robbed them of their antique and venerable ruſt, that green pellicle, or ſcale, which the Italians call *Patina*. It is true, means have been found to give them an artificial green, inſtead of the natural one; but it not only falls ſhort, in all, of the genuine antique Patina, but has a very bad effect upon ſome of the heads; witneſs that of the fine Mercury, which was found, they ſay, broken in a thouſand pieces, that is, greatly ſhattered. In caſes like this, the ſlighteſt ſoldering brings off from the ancient bronze a thin ſcale, which is ſucceeded by a ſcabby cruſt; ſo that all their endeavours to re-

* Æſchyl. *Sept. cont. Theb. verſ.* 391.

† V. Deſcr. des Pier. gr. du Cab. de Stoſch, p. 22, 23.

ſtore the colour and complexion * of the *Antique*, ſerves only to produce a very ugly ruggedneſs. The incruſtations with ſilver have required the ſame reparations.

I am now come to the inſcriptions, which I promiſed to give. I ſhall take particular notice of two. The firſt has not as yet been publiſhed; the ſecond is cited by Martorelli, in the work of his which I have ſo often mentioned, but which none, even the Neapolitans themſelves, are allowed to conſult. The firſt was fixed on the wall of a houſe, from whence it was taken in one piece, and removed to the cabinet of ancient pictures. This inſcription is an advertiſement of ſome baths and taverns to be let, and is the only one of the kind that has reached us.

IN PRAEDIS IULIAE SP. F. FELICIS
LOCANTVR
BALNEVM VENERIVM ET NONGENTVM TABERNAE
PERGVLAE
CAENACULA EX IDIBUS AVG. PRIMIS. IN. IDVS. AVG. SEXTAS.
ANNOS CONTINUOS QUINQUE
S. Q. D. L. E. N. C.
A. SVETTIUM VERVM AED.

It is eaſy to ſee, that there had been another inſcription, before this, on the ſame wall, but in black characters. This firſt inſcription was, probably, the advertiſement of ſomething to be let, and had been rubbed out to make way for that in red characters, which ſtill ſubſiſts. I have not been able to give the exact form of ſome of the

* The author means that ſurface, which, in bronzes, reſembles that of the natural ſkin.

letters,

letters, as I was obliged to tranſcribe them by ſtealth, for no one is allowed to take a copy of them. No doubt, the letters ſeparated by points, in the ſeventh line, were a formula well known at that time. They might, perhaps, ſtand for

Si Quis Dominam Loci Eius Non Cognoverit
Adeat Suettium Verum Aedilem.

That is to ſay, " Such perſons as may not be ac-
" quainted with the owner of theſe concerns,
" may apply to the Edile, *Suettius Verus.*"
Her name was *Julia*, and her father's *Spurius Felix*. Leaſes, amongſt the Romans, were generally made, as amongſt us, for a certain number of years. This was for five. Some laws in the Digeſt inform us of this circumſtance. By the word *Pergula* was generally meant what we call a green arbour, or a bower made with verdure. Theſe arbours or bowers are generally conſtructed, in the fineſt climates of Italy, with great elegance, and formed with reeds tied acroſs each other. And here I muſt obſerve, that the reeds of Italy are much longer and ſtronger than thoſe of Germany and other countries beyond the Alps, not only becauſe the ſoil of Italy is fitter for them, but, likewiſe, becauſe they are planted on purpoſe, and greater care is uſually taken of them in other reſpects, particularly by ſtirring the earth about them. Accordingly, a field of reeds is conſidered as an eſſential part of every farm. In Rome, and the country about it, they uſe reeds to tie and ſupport their vines. As to the other ſignifications of the word *Pergula*, not akin to that I have given it, the reader may find

them elſewhere *. *Cœnacula*: This word ſhould ſignify thoſe rooms in houſes of public entertainment, in which thoſe who frequented them eat and drank. On this occaſion, I ſhall quote an inſcription, of which, indeed, Gruter has given us a copy in his collection, but without mentioning the place where the original is to be met with.

HVIVS. MONVMENTI. SI. QVA. MACERIA.
CLVSVM. EST. CVM. TABERNA. ET. CENACVLO.
HEREDES. NON. SEQVETVR.
NEQVE. INTRA. MACERIAM. HVMARI.
QVEMQVAM. LICET.

This inſcription is to be found on the wall of a tower at the paſſage of the river *Garigliano*, the Liris of the ancients.

I ſhall add ſome other inſcriptions in the ſame cabinet, moſt of which require no explanation. Thoſe that do, I muſt leave to others.

IVLIA. GER.....
AGRIPPINAE. TI. CLA.....
PONT. MAX....
L. MAM...

DIVAE. AVGVSTAE.
L. MAMMIVS. MAXIMVS. P. S.

ANTONIAE. ANGVSTAE. MATRI. CLAVDI
CAESARIS. AVGVSTI. GERMANICI. PONTIF. MAX.
L. MAMMIVS. MAXIMVS. P. S.

* *Salmaſ. Not. in Spartian.* p 155, F. p. 458. Edit. Pariſ. *Voſſ. Etymol.* V. Pergula.

On

On a brazen table there is,

MAMMIO. MAXIMO.
AVGVSTALI.
MVNICIPES. ET. INCOLAE.
AERE. CONLATO.

BALBI. L. EVTYCHIO
LOCVM. SEPVLTVR.
D. D.

Q. LOLLIVS. SCYLAX. ET.
CALIDIA. ANTIOCHVS. MATER.
M. CALIDIVS. NASTA. IOVI,
V. S. L. M.

THERMAE.

M. CRASSI. FRVGI.
AQVA. MARINA. ET. BALN.
AQVA. DVLCI. IANVARIVS. L.

The following inſcription written on the baſe of a ſtatue, probably of Venus, was not found at Herculaneum, but near Bajæ. It is placed in the court of the cabinet.

VENERI. PROBAE. SANCTISS. SACR.
TI. CLAVDIVS. MARCION.
SALVE. MILLE. ANIMARVM. INLVSTRI. CENARE. OPVS. SALVE.
PVLCHRI. ONERIS. PORTATRIX. IN. EXVPERABILE. DONVM.
RERVM. HVMANARVM. DIVINARVMQVE. MAGISTRA.
MATRIX. SERVATRIX. AMATRIX. SACRIFICATRIX.
SELVE. MILLE. ANIMARVM. INLVSTRI. CENARE. OPVS. SALVE.

I will not venture to affirm, that this inſcription is of the earlieſt ages. Nevertheleſs, the meaſure of the ſyllables is very irregular, and in the taſte of that uſed in other inſcriptions of the greateſt antiquity. The third line is very obſcure. Martorelli reads it, p. 373, in the following order: *Salve Venus, Opus eſt nos cenare cum illuſtri mille animarum, ſalve*; and he explains it thus, *Juvat nos commiſceri* (μίγνυσθαι) *cum innumera gente illuſtri elegantique forma prædita.* He grounds his interpretation on Suetonius's uſing the word *cænare* in the ſame ſenſe, in his paſſage concerning the ſupper of Auguſtus (*Aug.* c. 73.) named δωδεκάτος, in which that emperor appeared in the dreſs of Apollo, and his gueſts in that of the reſt of the twelve great deities. The Latin author expreſſes it thus:

Dum nova Divorum cænat adulteria.

Martorelli ſupports this conjecture of his with the authority of Martial, by whom, he ſays, this word is often uſed in an obſcene ſenſe. But, for my part, I have not been able to diſcover any ſuch thing in the works of that poet.

There are on an agate, in characters taken from the white field of it,

ΛΕΓΟΥCΙΝ: *They ſpeak*
ΛΘΕΛΟΥCΙΝ: *What they pleaſe*
ΛΕΓΕΤωCΑΝ: *Let them ſpeak*

So,

ΤΙμΕΛΙCΟΙ (*): *What is it to me?*

Of ſeveral kinds of ſeals or engravings in bronze, I ſhall give but one, and that only on account of the interweaving of its letters:

* It muſt be τιμέλει μοὶ, *What is it to me?* or elſe τιμέλει σοὶ, *What is it to you?*

That

M. STATILII PHILERONIS

That is to ſay,

M. STATILII. PHILERONIS.

I am now got to the end of the firſt ſection of the fourth part of this letter, in which I promiſed to ſpeak of the works of art, but in the ſtricteſt ſenſe. I ſhall firſt ſpeak of the houſehold furniture, under two heads; the firſt comprehending things of abſolute neceſſity; the ſecond, thoſe introduced by opulence and luxury.

Bread ſhall be the firſt object of my enquiry, as I hope I may be permitted to place it under the firſt head. There are two whole loaves to be ſeen, both of the ſame form and ſize, that is, a palm and two inches in diameter, and five inches in thickneſs. Both have eight dents in the upper cruſt; that is to ſay, they were firſt divided by croſs lines into four parts, and then ſubdivided into eight, by four other croſs lines. There appears a diviſion of the ſame kind on two loaves, in one of the pictures found at Herculaneum *. We have a copper-plate engraving of the firſt that was found, in the memoirs relating to Herculaneum, written by an anonymous author, and publiſhed by Gori †. It is thus the loaves of the Greeks uſed to be marked in the earlieſt ages, whence they were called by Heſiod ὀκτάβλωμοι, that is, according to ſome commentators, eight-dented. But ſometimes the loaves were divided

* *Pitt. Erc.* Tome II. p. 141.

† *Notiz. Sopra l'Ercol.* in the *Symb. litter.* Vol. I. p. 139.

only

only croſsways, as I have elſewhere obſerved ‡; and it is hence, likewiſe, ſuch loaves uſed to be called by the Romans *Quadræ* §:

Et mihi dividuo findetur munere quadra;

and by the Greeks τετράτρυφος, ſo as to give riſe to the phraſe, *alienâ vivere quadrâ*, to live at another man's expence.

To the loaves of the ancients preſerved in the cabinet of Portici, I ſhall add their wine-veſſels. Of theſe they had two kinds. The largeſt they called *Dolia*, and the other *Amphoræ*; and both were made of baked earth. The ancients, however, were no ſtrangers to the art of making caſks, or veſſels of ſtaves bound together with hoops. There is in the cabinet of the Roman College an earthen lamp, on which are repreſented two men carrying ſuch a veſſel ſuſpended to a pole. We may diſcover veſſels of the ſame conſtruction on ſeveral engraved ſtones, as I have ſhewn in another place *. In ſhort, we may meet with them on the Trajan and Antonine columns; though I am of opinion they were ſeldom uſed but in the field. Inſtead of veſſels like our modern caſks, the ancients made uſe of veſſels called *Dolia*, in form of a pumpion, generally containing eighteen *Amphoræ*, which meaſure is, accordingly, written on a *Dolium* preſerved in the Albani vineyard. This was the form of the veſſel, of which the philoſopher Diogenes made a houſe, and which he uſed to roll from place to place during

‡ Deſcr. des Pier. grav. du Cab. de Stoſch. p. 72, 73.

§ *Scalig. Not. in Moret. in Catalect. Virg.* p. 429, *Edit. Lugd.* 1573 8.

* Deſcr. &c. p. 260.

the

the ſiege of Corinth. The mouth of theſe veſſels is about a palm in diameter. In a vaulted cellar diſcovered at Herculaneum, there were found ſeveral ſuch caſks of earth diſpoſed round it, and fixed by brick-work into the wall; whence we may gueſs, that the ancients did not make their wine as we do ours. For, in this cellar, it was impoſſible for the wine to run directly from the preſs-tub into the caſk, as it is uſual in ſome places, and there take its own time to work and ferment, by means of a ſufficient vacancy left in the veſſel for that purpoſe. The ancients were obliged to pour their new wine with buckets into theſe veſſels, which it was impoſſible to ſtir or move out of their places, and in which, beſides, they being ſo ſmall, there could not be room enough afforded to favour the fermentation of the liquor. This is enough to account for the ancients being obliged to allow their wines ſo many years to ripen. Accordingly, if we may believe Pliny, the wine of Albano, near Rome, could not be drank in leſs than twelve years. Hence we might infer, that the wines of the ancients did not grow fine till they were very old; and, conſequently, account for their ſtraining what they drank, before they lay down to table, or whilſt they were at it. The inſtrument uſed by them for this purpoſe they called Ἠθμός, *Colum Vinarium*. There are two of them, of white metal and elegant workmanſhip, in the cabinet of Herculaneum. They are made in the faſhion of round and deep plates, half a palm in diameter, with flat handles; one plate fitting into the other, and the handles withal matching, ſo exactly, that

that when put together they ſeem to make but one veſſel. The upper veſſel is bored in a particular manner. It was into this they poured the wine which was to be received by the under veſſel, from whence they drew it to fill their drinking cups.

Moſt of their ſmaller wine-veſſels, called *Amphoræ*, are of a cylindrick form, have two handles to the upper part, and terminate at bottom in a point. Several of them have been found at Herculaneum and at Pompeii, with inſcriptions in paint. I remember the following,

HERCVLANENSES
NONIO. . . .

By this it appears, that the inhabitants of Herculaneum uſed to put on their veſſels the name of *Nonius* their pretor, juſt as the Romans did the names of their conſuls. It was, till lately, the cuſtom in this country to bury earthen veſſels filled with wine, at the birth of every child, not to be taken up till its marriage. The veſſels uſed for this purpoſe terminated at bottom in a point, in order to ſtand the firmer in the earth. Some of them have been found at Pompeii, ſtill fixed in the holes of a flat arch making part of a vaulted cellar. This cellar, eight Roman palms in breadth, was divided by the flat arch, or, which is the ſame, by an horizontal wall, into two ſtories. The arch covering the upper ſtory reſembled thoſe commonly built for that purpoſe; and both ſtories were, each, of the height of a man. The wine found in one of theſe veſſels was, as it were, petrified, and of a deep brown, from whence it has

has been conjectured, that the cellars built in this manner were uſed, according to the cuſtom of the ancients, to ſmoke the wine in order to make it fine down, and ripen the ſooner. But the circumſtance of this cellar's having a lower ſtory ſeems to me ſufficient to overturn this opinion. They ſhew in the cabinet the wine I have been ſpeaking of, turned to a ſolid body.

We are to reckon amongſt the neceſſary houſehold furniture of the ancients, their trevets; not, indeed, thoſe of the ſame form with what I am going to ſpeak of, but ſuch as they were in the moſt early times, that is to ſay, treſtles with three feet; ſuch as the table of Philemon and Baucis is deſcribed in the fable, on which Jupiter condeſcended to eat.

> ... *Menſam ſuccincta tremenſque*
> *Ponit anus, menſæ ſed erat pes tertius impar;*
> *Teſta parem facit.* OVID. METAM.

for, amongſt the Greeks, they called trevets not only the trevets which they put over the fire, but likewiſe their tables; and they continued to call them ſo in the ages of luxury, as appears by the account which Atheneus has left us of the magnificent entertainments of Ptolemy Philadelphus at Alexandria, and of King Antiochus Epiphanes at Antioch. Theſe were called ἀτρυποι *, and the others ἐμπυριβήται and λοετροχόοι †.

Of the trevets uſed by the ancients in their ſacrifices, there are two in the cabinet worthy of

* *Cauſab. in Athen. Deipn. L.* 10. *c.* 4, *p.* 447, *l.* 50.
† *Hadr. Jun. animadv. l.* 2. *c.* 3. *p.* 64.

being

being ranked amongſt the fineſt diſcoveries. They are cloſe upon four palms in height. One of them was found at Herculaneum. Three Priapuſes, each terminating at bottom in a goat's leg, form the feet of it. Their tails, iſſuing from above the *Os ſacrum*, extend horizontally to a ring in the middle of the trevet, and by twining about it, unite and ſecure the whole, juſt as the croſs-piece in our common tables. The other trevet was found at Pompeii, ſome time after that I have been deſcribing. It is of admirable workmanſhip. On that part of each leg where it takes a bend to appear with the greater grace, there ſits a ſphinx, whoſe hair, inſtead of falling directly over the cheeks, firſt paſſes under a diadem. This head-dreſs may be conſidered as allegorical, eſpecially in a tripod of Apollo, and allude to the obſcure and enigmatical anſwers of the oracle. The large brims of the chafingdiſh are ornamented with ram's heads flead and bound together by garlands of flowers, and other excellent carvings. In the ſacred tripods, the chafingdiſh on which they placed the coal-pan, was made of baked earth. That found at Pompeii had ſtill the aſhes in it. In the year 1761, they found in a temple of Herculaneum, the diſcovery of which has not as yet been finiſhed, though for what reaſons I cannot ſay, a large ſquare chafingdiſh, in bronze, ſuch as they commonly uſe in Italy to warm their large apartments, about the ſize of a middling table. It ſtood upon lion's paws. The brims were curiouſly incruſted with a foliage compoſed of copper, braſs, and ſilver. The bottom conſiſted of a very ſubſtantial iron grate, lined with brick-

work,

work, as well above as below, ſo that the coals could neither touch the upper part of the grate, nor fall down through the lower. But this curious piece was found all in pieces.

I muſt likewiſe reckon, amongſt the neceſſary houſhold furniture, the lamps, in which the ancients were ſo induſtrious to diſplay their elegance, and even magnificence; mould or dipt candles not having been in general uſe among them. There are lamps of every kind in the cabinet of Herculaneum, both in baked earth and in bronze, eſpecially the latter; and, as the ornaments employed by the ancients have generally a relation to ſome particular object, we often find ſome ſingular ſubjects on them. Moſt of thoſe in baked earth repreſent a bark, with ſeven prows or roſtrums at each ſide, to hold as many wicks. The veſſel uſed to pour oil into theſe lamps reſembles a little round cloſe decked bark, with a ſharp roſtrum at one end, and at the other end a little concave plate, having a hole in the middle of it, to pour in the oil, which was afterwards to ſupply the lamp. One of the largeſt in bronze terminates, behind, in a bat with expanded wings, which may be conſidered as an emblem of night. The delicate tiſſue, for which the wings of this bird are remarkable, the tendons, the veins, and the ſkin which covers them, are all of admirable workmanſhip. On another of theſe lamps there is a mouſe, which ſeems to be watching an opportunity to get at the oil; and, in a third, a rabbit browſing the graſs. But nothing diſplays better the magnificence aimed at by the ancients, than a ſquare pedeſtal or baſe, in bronze, on which

which there ſtands a naked boy, two palms in height, with a lamp hanging by three chains, four times interwoven, in one hand, and in the other the hook uſed to trim the wick, ſuſpended by a chain like the firſt. Near him there is a column adorned with a ſpiral fluting, and, inſtead of a capital, terminating in a maſk, which likewiſe anſwered the purpoſe of a lamp, the wick iſſuing at the mouth; and there being a hole in the crown of the head, with a little hinged door or valve, to fill it by.

The ancients uſed their candelabres to carry lamps. Theſe candelabres reſembled our ſtands and were as curiouſly wrought as the lamps themſelves. The ſtem of the candelabre, curiouſly moulded, reſted on a foot uſually ſupported by three lions paws. This foot, as likewiſe the upper part, or plate of the candelabre, were turned, and adorned with pretty eggs on the edges, and foliages on the ſurfaces. The foot of the largeſt candelabre is a palm and an inch, Roman meaſure, in diameter. I believe there are near an hundred of them in the cabinet, the higheſt ſeven palms and a half high, whereas all Rome cannot produce a ſingle one in bronze. The form of theſe candelabres may ſerve to explain a paſſage in Vitruvius, in which he cenſures the bad taſte of the age he lived in, for introducing into architecture columns ſo ſlight and ſlender, as to be out of all proportion, and look like the ſhafts of a candelabre.

Scales for weighing are likewiſe to be conſidered as a part of uſeful houſehold furniture. Amongſt thoſe hitherto diſcovered, there is not a ſingle one with

with two baſons, ſuch as we ſee upon ſome medals. They all reſemble thoſe we call Roman ſteelyards; that is to ſay; they are formed by a lever, on which the weight increaſes in power, the farther it is removed from the point by which the lever is ſuſpended. The weight, in thoſe found at Herculaneum, is generally the buſt of ſome Divinity. One of thoſe preſerved in the cabinet is that of Africa, ſuch as we find it on medals. On the lever are the following words: TI. CLAVD. EXACT. CVRA. AEDIL. All theſe ſteelyards are provided with baſons inſtead of the hooks made uſe of in the modern ones; and their baſons hang by three or four neat and well-wrought chains paſſing through a hole in a round plate, by means of which they may be eaſily tightened or ſlackened. There are a great number of weights in the cabinet, of all kinds. I ſhall take notice of two only. Theſe are flat, angular, and oblong, ſuch as the fiſhmongers of the country ſtill uſe, with the word EME, in relievo, on one ſide; and the word HABEBIS, in relievo likewiſe, on the other.

Theſe baſons put me in mind of the fragments of a chariot preſerved in the court of the cabinet, conſiſting of the ſhoeing of a wheel, in one piece, ſix Roman palms in diameter, not quite two inches in breadth, and an inch thick. The wood ſtill adhering to the iron is petrified. There likewiſe ſtill remains that part of the nave, through which the axle-tree went, armed all round with iron; the iron covered with a plate of bronze faſtened on by flat-headed nails of the ſame metal. In the ſame cabinet there is the head

of a lion projecting from a brazen plate; and, as the mouth is not pierced, and, conſequently, it could not have been uſed for the purpoſe of diſcharging water into a fountain, or bath, I imagine it made part of a boxing ſcrewed on the end of an axle-tree, in order to keep the wheel in its place, and ſecure it from flying off. For this purpoſe the ancients uſed iron pins in their ordinary carriages, as we do. The Italians call theſe pins *Aciarini*; the Greeks called them παραξόνια, ἐμβολοὶ and ἐνήλατα. The ſquare and hollow piece uſually fixed to the end of axle-trees, to keep the duſt from them, was known in the days of Homer, who calls it ὑπερτερία *. We can diſcover the end of an axle-tree armed with one of theſe caſes, adorned with a lion's head in relievo, on ſome of the ancient monuments, particularly on the triumphal carr of Marcus Aurelius, in a baſſo-relievo preſerved in the capitol at Rome. Conſequently, the ſcrew-caſes, or caps of ſteel of this kind, which have made their appearance in our days, eſpecially in travelling carriages, are no new invention. The only difference between them and the ancient ones is, that the latter were of bronze. The extremity of the pole in the ancient chariots uſed likewiſe to be adorned with a lion's head, in carved work; for which reaſon I cannot help thinking, that the Count de Caylus muſt be miſtaken, when he ſays, that the chariots of the ancients had no poles †. I hope, in due time, to be able to demonſtrate the

* Odyſſ. ζ. v. 70.

† Obſerv. ſur le Coſtume jointes aux tableaux tirés de l'Iliade, &c. p. lxxx.

contrary

contrary by monuments. For the preſent, I ſhall content myſelf with referring him to a paſſage in Pindar *. The Electra of Sophocles, and the Hyppolitus of Euripides, will likewiſe furniſh him with ſeveral proofs of what I advançe.

I did not think to ſpeak, in this place, of the contrivance uſed by the ancients for the motion of their doors. I intended to keep it, and my remarks upon it, for the ſecond edition of my obſervations upon architecture. But I cannot, I find, reſiſt the temptation to ſay a word or two on the ſubject. In the firſt place, then, it is to be obſerved, that the doors of the ancients did not turn upon hinges, but upon pieces, one fixed into the upper, and the other into the lower, part of the door-caſe, ſuch as we call the *pivots of the door*; though, after all, the expreſſion does not convey a clear idea of the thing, for which no modern language I know has a juſt and preciſe term. The upright of the moveable door next the wall had, at each extremity, a braſs caſe ſunk into it, with a projecting point on the inſide, to take the better hold of the wood work. This caſe was generally of a cylindric form; for there have been found ſome ſquare ones, from which there ſprang on each ſide iron ſtraps, ſerving to bind together and ſtrengthen the boards with which the door was conſtructed. And here I muſt remark, that theſe doors, which were exceedingly thick, were likewiſe hollow.

I ſhall conclude this article with a kind of rope-work ſhoe ſoal, of which ſeveral ſizes have

* *Nem.* 7, *v.* 137. *et ſeq.*

been found, ſome fit for children, and others for grown-up perſons. They reſemble thoſe which the *Licanians* ſtill make uſe of.

I ſhall begin my deſcription of the furniture of the ſecond kind, by that of ſome veſſels of a ſingular form, the moſt conſiderable and precious of which are thoſe conſecrated to ſacred uſes. The moſt elegant of them, in point of workmanſhip, ſeems to have been a bucket, of that kind which they uſed in their ſacrifices, and called *Præfericula*, about two palms and two inches in height. It has a moveable handle, which, when turned down, lies exactly over the brim of the veſſel, and is, like the veſſel itſelf, ornamented with feſtoons, and other carved work. It has, beſides, two large and two ſmall ears. The large ones exhibit, at their juncture with the body of the bucket, the buſt of a woman borne by a ſwan with expanded wings; the whole in relievo. The ſmall ears, which lie under the large ones, terminate at bottom in a ſwan's neck. This veſſel was found almoſt entirely covered with melted iron, the fragments of which ſtill retain the impreſſion made by the body of it. In the ſame place were found a great quantity of iron nails, which had never been uſed; and two ink-ſtands full of ink. It appears that there was an haberdaſher's ſhop hereabouts. It was here, too, they found the gold medal of Auguſtus, engraved at the end of the advertiſement prefixed to the ſecond volume of the paintings of Herculaneum.

At the inferior origin of the ear of a veſſel of the ſame kind and form with the preceding, but ſomewhat

ſomewhat ſmaller, there is a Cupid with a cup (*Cantharus*) in one hand, and, in the other, one of thoſe horns uſed at table; the whole in baſſo-relievo. The cup, the horn, and the wings of the Cupid, are all of ſilver. They have likewiſe found moulds of baked earth, to caſt the ears of veſſels in. I remember an oval veſſel in theſhape of a little bucket. It is of ſilver, and has a handle. The ſtory of Hylas carried off by the nymphs, when ſent by Hercules to draw water, was, if I miſtake not, repreſented, in relievo, upon it.

They have likewiſe found ſacred veſſels of another kind, namely the cups (*Pateræ*) with which the ancients uſed to make libations at their ſacrifices. There are a great number of them, moſtly in white metal, and turned, both within and without, with the greateſt exactneſs. In the middle of ſome of them there is a kind of medallion, cut in relievo, repreſenting, to the beſt of my memory, a victory ſeated on a quadriga. The handles to them are generally round, fluted from end to end, and terminating in a ram's head. Some others terminate in the head and neck of a ſwan. One of the largeſt and fineſt of thoſe pateras ſtands near the fine tripod of Pompeii. The handle of it is formed by a ſwan, fixed by its extended feet to the body of the veſſel. It was once univerſally thought, that the ancients never uſed any veſſels of this form except in their ſacrifices. But now it plainly appears, by the diſcoveries made at Herculaneum, that they uſed them in their baths; a bundle of currying inſtruments (*Strigiles*) having been found, a-

long with a large-handled patera, faſtened to a flat metal ring, ſuch as we uſe to carry keys on. Theſe veſſels were, no doubt, uſed to pour water on the body. There are other large-handled cups, but deeper, which belonged to the kitchen, and greatly reſemble the lids of our ſtew-pans.

It is evident, from a great number of diſcoveries made at Herculaneum, that the moderns make very few things of a new ſhape, and not known to the ancients. There have been found here ſilver cups, with their ſaucers, of the ſame ſhape and ſize with thoſe we uſe for our tea. Theſe cups are very neat, and are carved in relievo. The ancients uſed them for the ſame purpoſe that we do ours; namely, to drink warm water. The Romans had their houſes for drinking warm water, juſt as we have our coffee-houſes for drinking tea, *&c.* There are three pair of theſe warm water veſſels in the cabinet.

Theſe cups put me in mind of a ſilver veſſel, in the form of a mortar, and weighing about three marcs, on the body of which Homer is repreſented, in baſſo-relievo, ſoaring on an eagle, with his right hand ſupporting his chin, the elevation of his head expreſſing the ſublimity of his meditations; and his left holding a roll, which is, no doubt, his poem. Swans, ſurrounded with garlands of flowers hanging down in feſtoons, ſkim the air over him. The Comte de Caylus has given us a drawing of this piece, in the ſecond volume of his collection of antiquities *, after another done by memory. But he has not given us the oppoſite ſide, on which, near the bottom, there

* Pl. XLI.

ap-

appear two female figures, ſeated under the foliage of an oak. That on the right carries a buckler and a lance, with a ſhort ſword under her arm; and repreſents the Iliad. That on the left wears a conical hat, without brims, ſuch as is given to Ulyſſes, and has one leg thrown over the other, with her right hand to her forehead as if abſorbed in thought. This is the Odyſſey.

M. Martorelli took theſe figures for men †, and then corrected himſelf in his Supplement ‡: But there is no excuſing M. Bajardi, who was well paid for deſcribing theſe treaſures, and had a better opportunity than any body elſe to ſee and examine them, for having made Homer a Julius Cæſar §. For, ſuppoſing he might not know the features of that prince, he ſhould, at leaſt, have known, that he wore no beard. He places, on one ſide of Cæſar, a Rome in tears; this is the figure of the Iliad. Of the Odyſſey he can make nothing but a ſoldier. In another place he repreſents Hercules deſtroying the Stymphalic birds, as a ſimple ſportſman purſuing water-fowl. He more than once takes men for women, and women for men.

There is on a little oval ſilver plate a ſatyr, in relievo, playing on the lyre. At the firſt ſight of him, I could not help thinking of the player on the flute, *Aſpendas*, which C. Verres had amongſt his ſtatues, and who ſhewed plainly, that he played only for himſelf, without caring whether he was liſtened to, or not. In fact, this figure

† *De Reg. Thec. Calam. p.* 266.
‡ *In Additam.* p. xix.
§ *Catal. de Monum. d'Ercol. Vaſi.* n. 5.

appears quite abſorbed, and ſeems to think of nothing, but the muſick afforded him by his own inſtrument.

Amongſt the veſſels invented by the ancients for the purpoſe of luxury, we are likewiſe to reckon thoſe, in which they uſed to feed and fatten a kind of field-mouſe found in cheſnut-woods. Theſe veſſels were of baked earth, about three palms and a half in height, and two and a half in diameter, with a pretty large mouth. Within, they contained ſtories of little ſemicircular baſons ſunk into the ſides, to contain the food of theſe animals. Veſſels of this kind were called *Glireria*, from the Latin word *Glis*, which has paſſed into the German, and ſeveral other languages, with the ſame ſignification that it has in the Latin. As theſe animals, by what I have obſerved, are not known beyond the Alps, ſome foreign writers have taken it into their heads, that the Romans fattened rats, and eat them as a great delicacy. Not only Sloane advances this opinion, in the advertiſement prefixed to his deſcription of Jamaica, in Engliſh; but Liſter, in his remarks upon the cookery of Apicius, appears no better informed. The Italians call this animal *Ghiro*, from *Glis*, and ſtill eat it. But it is too ſcarce to appear at any but great tables. I am informed that the houſe of Colonna makes preſents of them. It never appears in winter, which, they ſay, it paſſes in a lethargic ſtate, without taking any nouriſhment. It is for this reaſon that the moderns have adopted it for the ſymbol of ſleep; and Algardi has repreſented one of them near his ſtatue of ſleep, or Morpheus, in black marble, which is to be ſeen in the Borgheſe vineyard. It

It is likewiſe in this claſs that we are to place whatever concerns the plays and amuſements, that were in uſe amongſt the ancients. Their flutes, in particular, deſerve ſome remarks. They were made of bone, ivory, and even metal, and conſiſted, like ours, of ſeveral pieces, with this difference, that theſe pieces were not grooved one into another, but fixed together on a ſingle piece, which was generally of wood, and nicely turned, as appears by two pieces of a metal flute, within which the wood is ſtill diſcoverable, but in a petrified ſtate. In the cabinet of the academy of Cortona, there is an ivory flute fixed on a ſilver pipe.

From a little ivory tablet, with the Greek word AICXYΛOY upon it, we may gueſs what were anciently the uſual entertainments in this part of Italy. This tablet is a *teſſera*, or ticket, bearing the name of the famous tragick writer Eſchylus; and proves that his tragedies uſed to be repreſented in the place where it was found. But what that place is, I cannot ſay. It is well known, that theſe *Teſſeræ* uſed to be diſtributed by the perſon, at whoſe expence the piece was acted, juſt as play-houſe or opera tickets are ſometimes diſtributed gratis amongſt the moderns. It is the only *Teſſera*, with the name of a dramatick Greek poet on it, that has reached us. There are ſome ivory ones in the cabinet of the Roman college, but without any thing except cyphers upon them.

Another piece, the only one of its kind, is a metal Diſcus or Quoit, eight inches in diameter, with an oval hole in the center, to receive one of the fingers, and thereby give the player a bet-

ter

ter command of it. This manner of managing the quoit has not been known till now. There were likewiſe other quoits, without holes in the center, in uſe amongſt the antients. Of this kind is the quoit lying flat againſt the thigh of a ſtatue, which ſtood in the houſe of Veroſpi, at Rome, and has been lately diſpoſed of. Of this kind likewiſe is the quoit, hollowed like a diſh, of a palm ſix inches and a half in diameter, which is to be ſeen in the Albani vineyard, and of which I have taken notice in another place *. As to the reſt, to ſpeak conformably to our modern cuſtoms, it was a play uſed only by knights. Amongſt the heroes of Greece, it appears that Diomedes was particularly fond of it †. It is ſtill uſed in England.

To the utenſils of this kind I ſhall add a tragic maſk, in marble, with the hair combed up a conſiderable height above the forehead. The holes about it ſhew, that it was of the kind, which the ancients uſed to fix on the faces of their dead, agreeable to the maxim of Petronius, *Omnis mundus agit hiſtrionem.* There is in the Roman college a pretty ſmall maſk, of baked earth, made for the ſame purpoſe. It was formerly the faſhion, in France, to wear maſks in the night time, by way of preſerving the ſkin from the thick foggy air, with which cloſe rooms are apt to be infected. It is to be hoped, that this faſhion will come up again ‡.

* Deſcrip. des Pierres gr. du Cab. de Stoſch, p. 458.

† *Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v.* 199.

‡ This is a miſtake. It was merely to keep off the ſun, that the women in France formerly uſed theſe maſks.

The

The children of quality amongſt the ancients wore golden bulls, till a certain age, through vanity, and to ſhew that they were of noble birth. This cabinet has two of them. The uſe of them, however, was not confined to children. The triumphing emperors and generals wore them at their necks. In my eclairciſſements of the Mythology, Hiſtory, Manners, and Cuſtoms of the Ancients, written in Italian, I have proved, on the authority of a rare monument, that the women, likewiſe, wore them. The ſeats called *Cellæ Curules* were, alſo, a mark of diſtinction excluſively belonging to certain ranks of the Roman magiſtracy. There are two of them in the cabinet. At *Rome*, theſe ſeats were generally of ivory. Here they are of bronze, a palm and ſeven inches in height, and two palms ſeven inches in breadth. The arms and feet are compoſed of pieces croſſing each other, in the form of the letter X, with the parts below their junction turned into a ſpiral. It muſt be added, that the feet of theſe ſeats terminate * in the head of ſome imaginary animal, whoſe lengthened bill, or ſnout, bears on the ground.

I ſhall not ſtop here to ſpeak of the vaſt quantities of heads of lions, and other animals, in bronze, through which the water flowed into their baths and houſes. I ſhall, likewiſe, omit the inſtruments of ſurgery, and ſeveral other kinds of utenſils, as well thoſe peculiar to the ancients, as thoſe common to them and us, as it would be very difficult to deſcribe them without

* Theſe ſeats cannot be better compared to any thing than the French folding ſtools.

cuts,

cuts, which, after all, ſometimes give but a very imperfect idea of ſuch things.

But I muſt, before I conclude, take ſome notice of ſome trinkets peculiar to the ſex, ſuch as looking-glaſſes, bodkins, bracelets, and ear-rings. There are in the cabinet two looking-glaſſes, one circular, and the other an oblong ſquare. The firſt may be about eight inches over. Both are of metal, well poliſhed. M. Bajardi * tells us, that he found in the cabinet two looking-glaſſes with long handles to them; but, though I ſearched every where, I could never find them. The looking-glaſſes of the ancients were generally of the firſt form. On an engraved ſtone, in the cabinet of Stoſch, there is a Venus holding ſuch a looking-glaſs by the lid. Thoſe in the cabinet of Portici are not unlike ſome of our travelling glaſſes. Seneca ‡ makes mention of ſome glaſſes large enough for a man to ſee himſelf in them from head to foot.

Among the ſilver bodkins uſed to roll up the hair, and keep it to the back of the head, there are four of uncommon ſize and workmanſhip; for this was one of the ornaments which moſt deſerved the attention of the ſex. The eunuch prieſts of Cybele made uſe of bodkins with heads for the ſame purpoſe. The largeſt of thoſe abovementioned is eight inches in length, and terminates in a Corinthian capital, inſtead of a round knob, with a Venus, on it, holding her hair with both hands; and, near her, a Cupid preſenting her

* *Catal. de Monum. d'Ercol. p.* 271. *n.* 768.
† Cat. des Pierres Gravées de Stoſch. p. 116.
‡ *Nat. Quæſt. L.* 1. *C.* 17.

with

with a circular looking-glaſs. It was cuſtomary with the Roman ladies to conſecrate looking-glaſſes to the ſtatues of their Divinities on their feaſt-days *. The ſilver bodkins, ſtill in uſe amongſt the country women about Naples, are of the ſame length. On another of theſe needles, or bodkins, terminating, likewiſe, in a Corinthian capital, there is a Cupid and a Pſyche mutually embracing each other. Another has at its extremity two buſts. On the ſmalleſt of the bodkins in the cabinet, there is a Venus leaning upon a Cippus, with a Priapus upon it. The goddeſs is repreſented raiſing her right leg, in order, as it were, to take hold of the foot of it with her left hand.

In the ſame apartment are to be ſeen ſome gold, and ſome brazen, bracelets, all in the form of a ſerpent, and of the ſmalleſt kind, being ſuch as uſed to be worn on the wriſts. I do not remember to have met with any of the ornaments of this kind, which uſed to be worn near the upper part of the arm. The gold ear-rings reſemble the head of an acorn, adorned with little projecting buckles, their openings turned towards the ear. The women in the neighbourhood of Naples ſtill wear them of the ſame form.

The *Paterœ*, which I reckon, as I have already obſerved, in the claſs of houſehold utenſils, are of an artificial white metal, which, at firſt ſight, one would be apt to take for ſilver, and has this quality in common with ſilver, that it breeds a kind of verdigreaſe. Who knows, but it may be one of the famous metals of Corinth, or Syracuſe? Some connoiſſeurs, I am aware, take the

* *Lipſ. Elect. L. 2. C. 18. p. 503. ed. Plant. in 4to.*

metal

metal, which looks like gold, in ſome of the medals of the largeſt ſize, for that of Corinth. But this opinion is as uncertain, as the hiſtory of the production of the metal itſelf, during the pillage of that place, is ridiculous.

What deſerves our attention moſt, in the utenſils of the ancients, particularly their veſſels, is the elegant form of them; a circumſtance, in which all our modern artiſts muſt yield to the ancient. All thoſe beautiful forms are founded on the principles of good taſte, and may be compared with thoſe of a handſome young man, whoſe attitudes abound with natural graces. It may be ſaid, that this gracefulneſs extends even to the handles and ears of their veſſels. Would our artiſts but endeavour to imitate them, their works would ſoon put on another face. They would put on ſuch a face, as, by removing us from art, would bring us back to nature, by which art might afterwards be improved. The chief beauty of theſe veſſels conſiſts in the ſoftneſs and ſmoothneſs of their contours, little differing from thoſe, which, in the bodies of well-made youths, have a certain elegance not to be met with, in equal perfection, in thoſe of grown up perſons. Our eyes do not love to be bounded by compleat ſemicircles, or ſtopt by ſaillant points, or angles. The ſecret ſenſation our eyes experience, when we look at pure and ſimple forms, is like that produced by the touching of a tender and delicate ſkin. Our ideas become eaſy and diſtinct, like thoſe communicated by the ſight of an object ſimple in its unity. Now, as what is eaſy muſt pleaſe merely by its clearneſs, ſo, what is outré, muſt diſpleaſe, for the contrary reaſon.

reaſon. It is thus we are ſhocked at any hyperbolical panegyrick of another perſon's merit, which we deſpair of being ever able to equal. It looks, as if nature intended to pave the way for us, and even defray us; for, in general, it coſts more to deviate from her, than to follow her. It looks, I ſay, as if our own feelings and reflections ſhould alone be ſufficient to bring us back to the beautiful ſimplicity of the ancients. They ſcrupulouſly adhered to what was once acknowledged to be beautiful. They knew that the beautiful is always one; and, therefore, never attempted to alter it, even in their dreſs. We, on the contrary, cannot, or will not, keep ſteddy to any thing in this, as well as in many other reſpects, but blindly give ourſelves up to an ill underſtood imitation; and, like children, are continually pulling down what we had, but the moment before, raiſed with the greateſt anxiety.

FOURTH PART.

SECOND SECTION.

THE ſecond ſection of the fourth part of this letter, in which I propoſe to treat of the manuſcripts of Herculaneum, deſerves all the reader's attention, inaſmuch as I am the firſt to treat of them. I ſhall begin, by telling how they were diſcovered; and then proceed to deſcribe the matter, form, and actual ſtate, of them. In the third place, I ſhall endeavour to give an adequate idea of the kind of writing they exhibit; and,

and, laſtly, explain the method taken to unroll them.

When firſt diſcovered, they ſeemed to be nothing leſs than what they have ſince proved to be; ſo that the workmen, at the firſt ſight of them, could not help crying out, like the two bald-heads who had found a comb,

. . . *Sed fato invido*
Carbonem, ut ajunt, pro theſauro accepimus.
Phædr. L. 5. Fab. 6.

In fact, they could ſee nothing in theſe manuſcripts, but ſo many bits of burnt wood, or charcoal. Accordingly, ſeveral of them were broken to pieces, and thrown amongſt the rubbiſh; juſt as the diamonds, firſt found in Braſil, were treated like common pebbles, becauſe the value of them was not known. The order, in which theſe ſeemingly uſeleſs bits of charcoal were afterwards obſerved to lie, being piled one upon another, was the only circumſtance to attract the notice of the workmen, and convince them, that they were ſomething more than mere charcoal. Soon after, the characters on them were diſcovered.

They were found in the *Villa* of Herculaneum, already deſcribed; and in a room ſo ſmall, that two men, with extended arms, might touch the ſides of it. Againſt the walls ſtood preſſes, as in our modern paper offices, between five and ſix foot high; and in the middle, another by itſelf, with walking room round it, ſo as to admit the manuſcripts being put into it at both ſides. The wood of theſe preſſes was burnt to a coal, ſo that I need not ſay they fell to pieces at the firſt touch.

touch. Some of theſe manuſcripts in rolls were bound together by a coarſer paper, of the kind called *emporetica* by the ancients. In all probability, the rolls thus bundled together made one book. Theſe manuſcripts, on their appearing to be what they really are, were collected with with great care, to the amount of a thouſand, moſt of which are preſerved in a glaſs preſs, and under lock and key, in the cabinet of Portici; for, it is ſaid, there are many more ſtill remaining in the vaults of the caſtle, mixed pell-mell with the fragments of ſtatues, and other monuments of antiquity.

Theſe manuſcripts are written on the *Papyrus*, or Egyptian reed, which was likewiſe called *Deltos* (Δέλτος) from the country, where it grew in greateſt plenty. It appears that this word has been adopted in the Holy Scriptures to ſignify *writings*, for in Jeremiah (דלתות) δελτοὶ ſignifies a *book*, to the beſt of my memory. At preſent, this plant is called *Berd* *, by the natives of the country. It was peculiar to Egypt. But, according to Strabo, an attempt was made to raiſe it in Italy, where, however, none of it now remains. Targioni, a Florentine phyſician, ſtill living, is greatly miſtaken in thinking, that the ruſh uſed to make mats and cover flaſks with, might have ſupplied the materials of the paper uſed by the ancients.

Of the many travellers into Egypt, Alpinus is the only one who has given us an exact deſcription of this plant. Pococke, and others, have entirely omitted it. It grows on the banks of the

* *De Plant. Egypt. c.* 36.

Nile, and in marſhy lands. The ſtalk riſes two ells *(Cubits *)* above the water, according to Pliny, who takes his account from Theophraſtus; but, according to Alpinus, it riſes to the height of ſix, and even ſeven ells. This ſtalk is triangular, and terminates in a crown of ſmall filaments, reſembling hair, which the ancients uſed to compare to a Thyrſus. This reed, commonly called the Egyptian reed, was of the greateſt uſe to the inhabitants of the country where it grew, the pith contained in the ſtalk ſerving them for food, and the woody part, to build veſſels with; which veſſels are to be ſeen on the engraven ſtones, and other monuments of Egytian antiquity. For this purpoſe they made it up, like ruſhes, into bundles; and, by tying theſe bundles together, gave their veſſels the neceſſary ſhape and ſolidity. But the moſt uſeful part of this plant was its delicate rind or bark, which they uſed to write upon. Unhappily, the accounts left us of this matter, by ancient authors, are too obſcure to give any juſt idea of it. Hence it is, that ſome of the moderns, Voſſius † for inſtance, have conjectured, that the paper uſed to write on was taken from the leaves of the plant. Others, like Veſling ‡, have hazarded an opinion ſtill more groundleſs; they pretend, that the paper uſed to be made with the roots of the plant, though it is notorious

* Pliny ſays, in expreſs terms, that the ſtalk of the Papyrus grew to the height of ten cubits, reckoning the two cubits of it which remained under water; and this is, to a trifle, the height aſſigned it by Proſper Alpinus.

† *In Etymol. v. Papyrus.*

‡ *De Plant. Egypt. Obſ. ad Proſp. Alpin. Patav.* 1638. 4.

that

that the roots of all vegetables, without exception, are compoſed of little ligneous fibres, which will not bear being rolled up into thin leaves. Accordingly, the laſt of theſe authors was of opinion, that the root uſed to be boiled, and reduced to a liquid pap, capable of being taken up in ſheets, in the ſame manner that paper is made of old rags by the moderns. Salmaſius * and Guillandini, who have likewiſe written on this ſubject, have come a little nearer the truth, in ſaying, that the leaves of the Papyrus were drawn from the ſtalk, which may be eaſily ſeparated into thin layers; and that thoſe next the pith gave the fineſt paper; and thoſe next the outſide, the coarſeſt. This opinion is confirmed by the inſpection of the manuſcripts of Herculaneum. They are compoſed of leaves four fingers in breadth, which, to the beſt of my judgment, ſhews the circumference of the ſtalk. I am, therefore, inclined to think, that the text of Pliny has been altered in that paſſage, in which he ſays, that the price of this paper was in proportion to its breadth. The beſt, ſays he, is thirteen inches broad; that called *Hieratica*, eleven; the *Fanniana*, ten; that of *Sais*, leſs; and the commoneſt of all, but ſix. I am for ſubſtituting the word *length*, to that of *breadth*, as I cannot conceive, how the ſtalk of the plant could vary enough in thickneſs, for the circumference of it to be thirteen inches in ſome, and but ſix inches in others. The breadth of the paper muſt have been equal to the circumference of the ſtalk; and, as

* *Plin. Exercit. p.* 1003. *ed. Pariſ.*

to the length, it muſt have been in proportion to that of the ſtalk, which was never limited.

But, as I am not for ſubſtituting conjectures to clear notions, neither am I for diſcuſſing every thing advanced by Pliny on this ſubject *. I ſubſcribe to what he ſays of ſome writings, of two, and even three, leaves, paſted one upon another, ſince Guillandini aſſures us he has ſeen ſuch manuſcripts on the Egyptian Papyrus. Thoſe of Herculaneum are but a ſingle leaf thick. I muſt leave to thoſe, who deſire to know more of the matter than the bare inſpection of theſe manuſcripts can tell us, the taſk of rendering the relations of the ancients more intelligible. Yet, what I am going to ſay on the ſubject may be of ſome uſe to them.

Amongſt the manuſcripts on Egyptian paper, which I have had an opportunity to examine, excluſive of thoſe of Herculaneum, I may cite various diplomas preſerved in the Vatican Library, and a leaf of the works of a father of the church, in Greek characters, in the Theatine Library of the Holy Apoſtles of Naples. Don Mabillon makes mention of the diſcourſes of St. Auguſtine, on vellum leaves intermixed, in ſeveral places, with leaves of Egyptian paper. Theſe diſcourſes were in the library of the Preſident Petau; and, perhaps, make part of the manuſcripts of queen Chriſtina, preſerved in the Vatican. But, as I

* The Comte de Caylus has given us an ample diſcuſſion of this matter, in a diſſertation publiſhed by him in 1758, which may be ſeen in the 29th volume of the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles-Lettres. He there proves, that Pliny has very well deſcribed the paper-manufactory of the ancients, and that his text requires no alteration.

am

am not at Rome, I cannot ſpeak of them with any preciſion.

As to the form and preſent condition of the manuſcripts found at Herculaneum, it is to be obſerved, that moſt of them are a palm in height, ſome two, and others three; and, when rolled up, reach as far as four inches in diameter, or thickneſs. Some, indeed, are half a palm. Moſt of them are parched up, and as full of wrinkles as a ram's horn, owing to the great heat, which has reduced them, in a manner, to a coal; for they are either black, or of a very dark grey. On being taken from amongſt the ruins, they loſt ſomewhat of their cylindrick form, as well as exterior ſmoothneſs, ſo that, to judge of them merely by their outſide, one would take them for ſo many pieces of petrified wood; notwithſtanding which, one may eaſily diſtinguiſh, at each end of the rolls, the paper compoſing them. As to books of a ſquare form, they have not found any.

This Egyptian paper is very thin, and more delicate than a poppy-leaf. It is no longer of the ſame form it was originally, the fire having dried it up, and thereby made it take a new one. In unrolling it the leaſt breath of air is ſufficient to do miſchief. That this paper was always extremely delicate, appears plainly on examining ſeveral manuſcripts, which, though leſs wrinkled and dried up, were, notwithſtanding, rolled up as tight as they now appear to be; for, as they could not be reduced by the heat into a leſs volume, than that they originally occupied; and, as they have not leſſened in any ſenſe, they remain free from wrinkles and compreſſion.

Theſe rolls are compoſed of ſeveral thin ſtrips, of a hand's breadth, paſted, a finger's breadth, one over the other, and in ſo durable a manner, that nothing has been able to part them. The ancients had a kind of workmen, called *Glutinatores**, who followed no other buſineſs, and are not to be confounded with their common tradeſmen; the Athenians having erected a ſtatue to one Philtatius, for teaching them the art of paſting manuſcripts; or, as I think it more probable, for inventing a particular kind of paſte for that purpoſe.

The bandages of paper, thus compoſed of ſeveral ſtrips paſted together, were often rolled about themſelves; and ſometimes, according to the ſcholiaſt of Horace, about wooden or bone tubes of different diameters. This it was, no doubt, which the ancients called the navel (*umbilicum*) of their books; for not only theſe tubes, in the center of their books, occupied the ſame place, which the navel does in the belly; but what appeared outwardly of it, did not look unlike that part of the human body. This obſervation may ſerve to give the meaning of a paſſage in Martial, in which he ſpeaks of a book that was not thicker than the *umbilicus*.

Quid prodeſt mihi tam macer libellus,
Nullo craſſior ut ſit umbilico,
Si totus tibi triduo legatur?

L. 2. *ep.* 6, *v.* 10.

I don't think this paſſage has been heretofore rightly underſtood. The compariſon would not hold, did the poet mean the navel of the human

* Cic. *ad Att. L.* 4. *ep.* 4.

body

body. Neither muſt what he ſays be underſtood of the ornament placed on the covers of books. No doubt, he had in view the little roller in the center of them. His words, therefore, mean, that the book was neither thicker nor better than the little tube or ſtick, about which it was rolled. It was for this reaſon the ancients uſed to ſay, *ad umbilicum adducere* *, to denote a book's being ready to be rolled up; and *ad umbilicum pervenire* †, to expreſs the reading of the book till the roller appeared.

Conſequently, we are to take it for granted, that the interior roller, from about which the book was to be unrolled, required another, exterior, one to take up the book; and that theſe tubes were faſtened; one, to one end of the bandage compoſing the book; and the other, to the other. Thus, by the time the book was gone through, the tubes changed places; that, which at firſt was at the outſide end, being now at the inſide; and that, which at firſt was at the inſide end, being now at the outſide; till, by unrolling and rolling in a contrary direction, things were brought back to their primitive ſtate.

The manuſcripts found at Herculaneum have but one tube. It is highly probable, that the exterior leaves of them, to which the exterior tube was faſtened, have periſhed. This is, at leaſt, the caſe with all the rolls which have been as yet examined. Neither are theſe exterior tubes to be ſeen on the rolls repreſented on ſome of the paintings of Herculaneum‡, though the interior ones are

* Hor. *loc. cit.* † Martial, L. 4. ep. 9. v. 2.

‡ They are very viſible in the roll or book held by the Muſe Clio, in a picture repreſenting this muſe and her attributes, which was found amongſt

very viſible. It is, however, true, that the ancients mention, in the plural *, the tubes of this kind appropriated to the uſe of manuſcripts; which ſeems ſufficient to give ſome weight to my conjecture. I muſt further remark, that, in ſome of our manuſcripts, there appears ſomething within the tube, like a little ſtick, upon which the tube probably turned, as the manuſcript unrolled. When the tube did not exceed the manuſcript in length, the ſtick, which did, ſerved to turn the tube. This ſtick, in all appearance, terminated in a painted turned knob, from whence a poet took occaſion to ſay, *Pictis luxurioris umbilicis.* It was to this ſtick, in all appearance, when there happened to be one, that they tied a ticket or label, like that viſible in one of the paintings of Herculaneum, which, when hung to a manuſcript, probably contained the title of it. This word *umbilicus*, uſed to ſignify the tube of which I have been ſpeaking, might, in proceſs of time, have been extended to the ornament fixed to the middle of the cover of ſquare books, as M. Martorelli preſumes from a paſſage in Lucian's treatiſe *contra indoctos* †. This ornament was either a plate of copper or braſs, ſuch as may be ſeen on our very old books; or a ſimple ſtamp, ſuch as is uſed to this day on parchment covers.

amongſt the ruins of Herculaneum, and is to be ſeen in the ſecond plate of the paintings of Herculaneum. It is ſurpriſing how it came to eſcape the author's notice.

* Mart. *L, ep.* 2. *v.* 9. *L.* 4. *ep.* 91. *v.* 2. *L.* 8. *ep.* 61. *v.* 4. *Stat. L.* 4. *Sylv.* 9.

† Διφθέρας περιβάλλεις καὶ ὀμφαλὸς ἐπίθης.

Some

Some of theſe manuſcripts have been treated in the ſame manner, that we are told an ancient treated the obſcure poem of Licophron, to ſee if he could underſtand the inſide of it better than the outſide; and, as it is pretended, St. Jerom dealt by the Satires of Perſius; that is, ſome of the largeſt rolls have been cut in two, the better to diſcover the interior conſtruction of them, and exhibit it to ſtrangers. In ſome of them the writing is as beautiful, and the characters as large, as in the fine Pindar at Oxford.

The more like charcoal theſe volumes look, and the more evenly black they are, the better preſervation they are found to be in, and the eaſier to unroll. The reaſon of this is evident from the nature of charcoal. Charred wood, in conſequence of its being thereby freed from all humidity, and all heterogenous ſubſtances, inſtead of being any longer ſubject to alteration, acquires ſuch a permanent conſiſtence, that with it one may form limits, which no time ſhall be able to obliterate. It is the ſame thing with theſe manuſcripts. The more ſuddenly and equally they were penetrated by the heat of the burning matter of Veſuvius, which diveſted them of all their humidity, the more the paper of them has been exalted to an uniform equality; and, of courſe, the more it is become like the ſimple and ſolid ſeeds of invariable and incorruptible things. Accordingly, thoſe manuſcripts, on which the burning matter has not acted, are not of an even colour; and, as they were not freed from their humidity as ſuddenly as the firſt, they have been expoſed to the variations of the air, and injured by the exterior humidity endeavouring

vouring to unite with that natural humidity, which ſtill remained in them. By this means the circumambient earth and aſhes have ſo penetrated and effaced them, that they are much harder to unroll, than thoſe of the firſt kind.

From the form of theſe manuſcripts M. Martorelli has taken occaſion to advance ſuch ſtrange opinions, or, rather, ſuch paradoxes, as cannot but convince the public of the blindneſs of prejudice and ſelf-love. This learned man maintains, againſt the cleareſt evidence, that the manuſcripts of Herculaneum, which he has had an opportunity of ſeeing and examining, as often as he pleaſed, are not learned diſſertations or books, but ſimple documents, deeds of gift, contracts, judgments, and the like; and that, conſequently, the place in which they were found is to be conſidered as the regiſtry of Herculaneum. He ſets out by aſſuring us, that the Greeks did not roll their manuſcripts; he will allow them nothing but ſquare books *; for it would, ſays he, be abſurd to think, that, ſagacious as the ancients were, they ſhould chuſe for their books ſo inconvenient a form, as he affects to think that of rolls, whereas a ſquare book is much eaſier to uſe †. His chief reaſon for being of this way of thinking is, that the Greeks, in their beſt times, had no word anſwerable to that of *volumen*, which ſignifies a rolled writing; and did not employ εἰλεμα till a long time after, to ſupply the place of it; ſo that, if the Greeks had rolled their writings, we ſhould find in their tongue the names of the particular

* *Reg. Thec. Calam. p.* 233. † *Ibid. p.* 234.

pieces

pieces mentioned by Latin authors, which is not the caſe. He rejects the word ἀστραλίσκος ſignifying a little tube, about which writings uſed to be rolled, and attributes it to the barbarous ages. He concludes by ſaying, that, ſince the Greeks, in their moſt flouriſhing times, and when their language was richeſt, had no word to ſignify *volumen*, it was impoſſible they ſhould have had rolled writings *. He then conſiders this ſuppoſition of his as inconteſtably proved, and leaves no ſtone unturned to make the ancient authors ſpeak conformably to his ideas. He boldly corrects, as vitiated, the paſſages which claſh with his opinion. He ſubſtitutes the word *open* (ἀνειλιγμένον) † to the word *rolled* (ἀνεωγμένον) in the fourth letter of Eſchines, in which that author ſpeaks of a ſtatue holding a writing, which the Athenians had erected to Pindar. He affects to make nothing of Diogenes Laertius, who ſpecifies the writings of Epicurus, by the expreſs word *cylinder* (κυλίνδρους) †. M. Martorelli conſiders this word as an interpolation of ſome Roman, becauſe he cannot find it employed in the ſame ſenſe by any other writer. And, as he finds it but once in Diogenes himſelf, he endeavours to confirm this his charge of interpolation by ſome deciſions of Menage, who ſays, in his remarks upon that author ‡, that the text is full of additions, and vulgar expreſſions, as Saumaiſe had already obſerved §. But, allowing, ſays he, that the word *cylinder* is not an addition, it proves nothing againſt me, or againſt

* *Ibid. p.* 234. † *Ibid. p.* 235.
‡ *In Annotat. p.* 253. § *De ling Hellenift. p.* 107.

the

the ancient times of Greece, ſince Diogenes lived under Conſtantine, when rolled books might be very well in uſe amongſt the Greeks. He refers to ſeveral ſquare books repreſented in the paintings of Herculaneum; and, when he meets with any rolled books in theſe paintings, he gives them the meaning his fancy ſuggeſts *. He ſays that Spon lies *, when he tells us in the account of his travels, that he had ſeen at Corinth a roll containing the liturgy of St. Chriſoſtom.

To eſtabliſh, however, the exiſtence of this cuſtom, and at the ſame time refute M. Martorelli's ſtrange notion concerning it, I have given, at the head of this letter, a fine ancient monument, in baſſo-relievo, which I got copied from an excellent drawing, by ſome diſciple of Raphael's, preſented in the cabinet of his excellency Cardinal Alexander Albani; for the original is no longer to be met with at Rome. It repreſents the educating and inſtructing of young children. The eldeſt ſon of the mother of the family, who is ſeated on the left, holds a ſquare book, to which the maſter, likewiſe, has one of his hands. This circumſtance is in favour of M. Martorelli. The youngeſt of the children, ſtill in the hands of an old gouvernante, ſeems to be for climbing up to a terreſtrial or celeſtial globe, which two muſes are ſhewing with their hands. One of theſe muſes is Urania; and the other, probably, Clio, the muſe of hiſtory, with a roll in her hand. This makes againſt M. Martorelli. The third is Melpomene, the muſe of tragedy. This piece puts me

* *Reg. Thec. Cal. p.* 264. * *ibid. p.* 234.

in

in mind of the three muſes, whom a philoſopher had placed in his parlour*. The engraved ſtone, with which I have adorned the frontiſpiece of this letter, is likewiſe to my purpoſe. Love is there repreſented conſulting a rolled paper, which cannot be either a contract or a ſentence. A muſe, in quality of preceptor, has in her hands a ſquare book †. Above both, in the field of the ſtone, there is a ſphere. The meaning of the beetle, which is placed in a kind of exergue, may be gueſſed by thoſe engraved ſtones of the ancients, upon one ſide of which we ſee a beetle in relievo, and which, from thence, have obtained amongſt the moderns the name of *beetle-ſtones*. Perhaps, it may allude to the arms of the owner ‡. There is, in the cabinet of the Roman college, a little bronze, half a palm in height, repreſenting a philoſopher with a beard, ſeated on a magiſtral ſeat. In his hand there is a rolled writing, half unrolled; and, at his feet, a box containing other writings made up in the ſame manner. This figure cannot be that of a Roman magiſtrate. Beards were out of faſhion amongſt the Romans

* A teſtimony like this does not appear to me of any importance. It proves nothing. The author muſt, therefore, be ſuppoſed to have had ſome private motive for giving it, with which he has not thought proper to acquaint us.

† Allowing the drawing to be exact, the muſe on this engraved ſtone does not hold a ſquare book, but is rather writing on a fillet, or bandage, which is to be rolled on the cylinder, when the work ſhe is upon is finiſhed.

‡ I believe it will be no eaſy matter to prove, that the ancients made uſe of arms. I think it more natural to ſay, that the beetle, the ſpider, or whatever other inſects might have been repreſented on this ſtone, is a particular ſymbol, or rather a riddle, which every one may interpret as he pleaſes.

when

when this monument was made. For this reaſon it muſt be, as I ſaid before, a philoſopher; whence it follows, that the writings which accompany it cannot be judicial ſentences, or other pieces of that kind. The ſeat, too, is not exactly of the ſame form with thoſe uſed by the Roman magiſtrates.

M. Martorelli goes ſtill further. He is not afraid to contradict all thoſe who tranſlate the words *teretes libros*, in the law of *Ulpian* 52. D. de leg. 3. rolled writings, and the word *codices*, ſquare books *. The writers he refutes are Salmaſius †, Schulting ‡, Trotz §, Heinneccius ‖, and Mazocchi *. As to Schulting and Heineccius, he omits their names in his additions †. What enormous volumes, ſays he, muſt the works of Cicero, Livy, Seneca, and Pliny, have formerly made, had they been written but on one ſide of the paper, and that paper made up in rolls ‡. He endeavours to prove, that the word *codex* was never uſed but to ſignify a public act §; and that, if there are ſome ſtatues of emperors, and figures of them upon medals, with rolls in their hands, theſe rolls cannot be ſuppoſed to be any thing but diplomas; and, by no means, works of literature or hiſtory *. It muſt, therefore, continues he, have been an unpardonable blunder in the ſtatuaries and other artiſts of antiquity, to put rolls into the hands of their poets and philoſophers †.

* *Reg. Thec. Cal. p.* 254. † *De Mod. uſur. p.* 401.
‡ *In. Paul. p.* 337. § *In. Hugon. p.* 604.
‖ *In Antiq Rom. proæm. n.* 16. * *In Diptych. Quirin, p.* 5.
† *Thec. Cal. addit. p.* XIV. ‡ p. XIV. § p. 257. ‖ p. 259. * p. 261.

Even

Even Apollonius of Priene, the Greek artiſt, who executed, in baſſo-relievo, the apotheoſis of Homer preſerved in the palace of Colonna, blundered greatly in putting a roll into the hands of the prince of poets.

M. Martorelli, the better to prove the ſolidity of his opinion, and ſhow, that he did not advance it without due reflection, repeats, in his additions, that he has ſeen, and very carefully examined, the ſignature of the firſt that was unrolled of the writings found in Herculaneum: Φιλοδήμου περὶ Μουσικῆς, "Of Philodemus upon muſick." Nevertheleſs, he inſiſts (will the reader believe it!) that this writing is a public act concerning a law-ſuit. Perhaps, he has taken it into his head, that it contains the pieces belonging to a law-ſuit concerning the muſick of their temples, or that made uſe of at their marriages, between the corporation and the town muſicians. And how does he endeavour to eſtabliſh his opinion? Why, forſooth, by ſaying, that in this roll he could not diſcover any title, but only the ſubſcription at the end of it; and that, as every one knows, it is uſual to ſign law-papers at the end; whereas the title and the inſcription of learned diſſertations ſtand at the head of them. However, as M Martorelli is intimately acquainted with the perſon who has unrolled theſe manuſcripts, he ſhould have known, that the beginning or exterior coil of all the writings hitherto unrolled is wanting, as I have already obſerved.

He ſeizes this opportunity to advance, that the ancient Greeks did not write upon tablets; and, thereupon, examines two verſes of Homer, in which

which the poet ſays, that Bellerophon had been ſent by his father to the king of Lycia, with one of theſe engraved tablets, by way of letter, the contents of which were a ſentence of death againſt the bearer.

Πέμπε δέ μιν Λυκίνδε, πόρεν δ' ὅγε σήματα λυγρά,
Γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ θυμοφθόρα πολλά.

Sed miſit ipſum in Lyciam, deditque is litteras pernicioſas, ſcriptis in Tabellâ complicatâ animæ exitialibus multis. Il. ζ. v. 168.

He would fain perſuade us, that the ſecond verſe is an interpolation, eſpecially as the meaning of the poet will not ſuffer by ſtriking it out; for λυγρὰ and θυμοφθόρα πολλά, ſays he, ſignify the ſame thing, and are a tautology; and πίναξ πτυκτός conveys a wrong idea of a tablet of wood, which it is impoſſible to fold. He builds on the authority of Burmann, who, infers from ſome manuſcripts of Virgil, that ſome of the verſes we now meet in him are not really his. He paſſes the ſame judgment on ſeveral other paſſages of Homer. That, in which it is ſaid of Paris, that he deſerved to be ſtoned *, is one of them, becauſe *Dion Chryſoſtom, Orat.* XI. περὶ τῦ Ἰλίου μὴ ἁλῶναι, in quoting this diſcourſe of Hector againſt Paris, ſuppreſſes the two verſes in queſtion. He is for ſtriking, without mercy, out of the book λ' of the Odyſſey, twelve entire verſes, from 310 to 320, becauſe they don't appear to him worthy of Homer. In the next book, μ', he ſuſpects the verſes following the 68th, which con-

* *Il.* γ. 57, 58.

tains

tains a deſcription of the ſhip Argos, becauſe Heſiod makes no mention of that veſſel; and he even hence concludes, that this fable is more modern than theſe two poets. There are, likewiſe, two verſes in the laſt book of the Iliad, namely, the 29th and the 30th, deſcribing the judgment of Paris, which he cannot ſubſcribe to.

He then, in his notes *, returns to the paſſage of Homer, which he had firſt criticiſed; and proves, by ſeveral other verſes, that he never uſes the words γράφειν, ἐπιγράφειν, to ſignify to write, but only to incruſt, engrave, wound. Hence he concludes, that Bellerophon's tablet was not written, but only contained marks cut into it, which were a ſecret for the bearer, but well underſtood by the two kings, as friends. It was not, therefore, cuſtomary with the ancient Greeks to write upon tablets, as he ventures to ſupport, but only with the Perſians; and he corrects †, with pretty good ſucceſs it muſt be owned, a paſſage of Ælian ‡, in which that author ſpeaks of the employment of the kings of Perſia, during their travels. This paſſage, in the manner in which it has been hitherto read and underſtood, does theſe princes very little honour. Ælian ſays, that the only employment of theſe princes, when travelling, was to engrave, with a little knife, upon tablets of wood, by way of amuſing themſelves; and that, in general, they read nothing that was ſerious, and thought of nothing becoming their exalted ſtation. I muſt own, that, as we are but too apt to hurry over the authors of antiquity, and but ſuperficially examine even ſuch things

* P. 55. † P. 63. ‡ *Var. Hiſt.* L. 14. c. 12.

as ſhock us, eſpecially when not intent upon any particular object, this paſſage, in which I did not ſuſpect any fault in the text, had given me the more pain, as we cannot help entertaining a very different idea of ſeveral kings of Perſia, whoſe hiſtory has been tranſmitted to us. M. Martorelli, by a very ſmall alteration in the laſt words of this paſſage, and the addition of a ſingle word, gives it a quite different, and far more ſuitable, meaning. He reads, ἢ εὐγενναῖον τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον βουλεύηται γράφη; that is to ſay, that the kings of Perſia took no books with them, but amuſed themſelves in their carriages with preparing their own tablets, that they might have ſomething ſerious, the fruit of their own reflections, to read (to others I ſuppoſe) which was as often as they had an opportunity of attending to any thing uſeful or curious.

He, however, allows, in his additions, that waxed tablets, for the purpoſe of writing upon, were in uſe amongſt the Romans and Greeks, during the laſt imperial ages; becauſe he has found a paſſage relating to them in the acts of the ſecond council of Nice *; and which, it muſt be owned, cannot, otherwiſe, be deciſive. He had already obſerved, even in the body of his work, that this way of writing was peculiar to the Romans, and that they made uſe of it in the earlieſt periods; witneſs what he ſays, that the treaty of alliance between the Romans and the inhabitants of Albani, in the time of the Horatii and the Curiatii, was written on waxed tablets.

Moſt of M. Martorelli's miſtakes, eſpecially thoſe in regard to the prince of the poets, are owing

* *Act.* 4. *Conc. Nic.* 11, *tom.* 8. *p.* 854. *lit.* C. *edit. Venet.*

ing to an itch to ſay ſomething new and extraordinary. It is thus, that other writers venture into roads equally devious for want of matter, which is ſcarce in ſome countries and in certain kinds of erudition; and finding it difficult to reſiſt the *rabies ſcribendi* (a diſeaſe thoſe beyond the Alps, and the Germans in particular, are ſubject to, even more than the Italians) they often, through mere deſpair, give themſelves up to idle ſpeculations and dreams, in hopes, like Eroſtratus, to immortalize themſelves at the expence of the monuments of antiquity. Such was the learned Ruhnken, who has ſignalized himſelf by the corrections of Callimachus, and other ancient poets. But, perhaps, this digreſſion may be thought too long, even for a letter; and, therefore, I return to my ſubject.

One of the moſt uſeful taſks undertaken, with regard to the manuſcripts of Herculaneum, is that of examining the nature of them, and the kind of writing uſed in them. I ſhall, therefore, conſider the form, and examine the matter, of them, in a few words.

I muſt firſt take notice, that, though M. Martorelli had, by being on the ſpot, a better opportunity than any body elſe to know every thing relating to them, he is, notwithſtanding, egregiouſly miſtaken, when he ſays, that, excluſive of the Greek and Roman manuſcripts, others have been found in unknown, perhaps, as he ſays in his table of contents, Sabine characters. The fact is falſe. Thoſe that have been unrolled, and others, which, tho' not unrolled, I have likewiſe examined, are all Greek. The learned Mazocchi himſelf thought he could diſcover Oſcick writing in one of theſe rolls, up-

on which they had tried a ridiculous experiment, of which I ſhall ſpeak in the laſt part. People are but too apt to believe what they wiſh to be true. M. Martorelli had no ſooner contrived his ſyſtem of etymologies for words derived from the Pelagian language, than he was for perſuading the world, that every thing he could not explain was in the Oſcick; that is to ſay, the language ſpoken by the moſt ancient people of the Campania.

I muſt not omit acquainting the reader, that all the manuſcripts of Herculaneum are written on one ſide only. Not one of them is ὀπισθόγραφος, written on both ſides. Perhaps the ancients never did it on ſingle paper, like this. The writing is on the inner ſide of the coils; and, for this reaſon, it is hard to know of what kind the writing is, without unrolling the manuſcript a little. The manuſcripts written on both ſides muſt, therefore, have been written on double paper, or paper compoſed of two leaves, paſted one over the other.

All theſe works are written in columns, four fingers broad at leaſt; that is, as broad, as an hexameter Greek verſe is long. In ſome of the manuſcripts, every column contains forty lines; and, in others, forty-four. There is a blank, of about a finger's breadth, between the columns; and it appears, that theſe columns were incloſed by red lines, as the columns and pages of the firſt printed books uſed to be. Theſe lines, or frames, are now whitiſh, owing, no doubt, to the effect of the fire on the minium or cinnabar. There is no diſcovering here, as on parchment, the leaſt trace of any lines uſed to make the writing run ſtrait. As this ſingle paper was very delicate, and ſeems to have been tranſparent,

tranſparent, they, no doubt, made uſe of another paper ruled, and placed under it, for that purpoſe.

No more than four rolls have been as yet entirely unfolded; and theſe, too, all happen to be the works of the ſame author, Philodemus, a native of Gadara in Syria, and an epicurean. Cicero, in whoſe time he lived, and Horace, likewiſe, make mention of this philoſopher. We know, that the firſt of theſe manuſcripts is a diſſertation, in which the author endeavours to prove, that muſick has a dangerous influence on the morals of mankind, and the exiſtence of ſtates. The ſecond manuſcript is the ſecond book of a treatiſe of rhetorick; and I have heard from ſome, who had an opportunity of examining it, as faſt as it was unrolled, that the principal object of Philodemus, in it, is to ſhew, what influence eloquence has in the adminiſtration of a ſtate. I have been, likewiſe, told, that mention is made in it of the politicks of Epicurus and Hermachus. The third manuſcript contains the firſt book of the rhetorick in queſtion; and the fourth, a treatiſe upon virtues and vices.

The firſt manuſcript contains forty columns, and is thirteen palms long. The ſecond manuſcript contains ſixty-ſix columns. The third may be about twelve palms in length; and the fourth, thirty. I ſhall not anſwer for the exactneſs of theſe dimenſions, it being no eaſy matter to get a ſight of theſe unrolled manuſcripts. The firſt of them, is the only, which has as yet been expoſed to public view. It is to be ſeen in one of the preſſes of the cabinet, divided into five

parts, each containing eight columns, and paſted on ſeparate papers, and framed.

I have already obſerved, that the outſide coil of every roll has been loſt. Perhaps it is the ſame with ſome of the following coils, ſo that the title of the work muſt be wanting. It is, therefore, a fortunate circumſtance, that the title has been repeated at the end of every manuſcript; otherwiſe we ſhould be entirely at a loſs for the author's name, and the title given by himſelf to his work. But both one and the other are repeated at the end of every manuſcript; and that which treats of virtues and vices, preſents twice theſe two titles, in ſmall and great characters. At the end of the firſt manuſcript, we meet with the following words;

ΦΙΛΟΔΗϻΟΥ
ΠΕΡΙΡΗΤΟΡΙΚΗϹ

At the end of the ſecond book of rhetorick:

ΦΙΛΟΔΗϻΟΥ
ΠΕΡΙ ϻΟΥϹΙΚΗϹ
Β

The B ſignifies the ſecond book. At the end of the fourth manuſcript there is;

ΦΙΛΟΔΗϻΟΥ
ΠΕΡΙΚΑΚΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ
ΑΝΑΚΕΙϻΕΝΩΝ ΑΡΕΤΩΝ

About five years ago, juſt as they were beginning to work upon the third manuſcript, I found in it a writing of Metrodorus, on characters, with the following title:

ϻΕΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΠΡΟΤΩ ΠΕΡΙ ΓΡΑϻϻΑΤΩΝ

All the words, without exception, are written in uncial letters; and are not ſeparated by full ſtops

or

or commas. There is nothing to indicate the diviſion of thoſe words, which happen to be divided between two lines. There is no ſign of interrogation, or any thing elſe, to aſſiſt the pronunciation, or indicate ſuch places as require an elevation of the voice. The uſe of ſtops became frequent, in proportion as the knowledge of the Greek declined. But there are, however, on ſome words, other unknown ſigns, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter. As to the ſize of the letters, I may compare thoſe of the manuſcripts I have mentioned, to the letters of the ſcarce editions of ſome Greek authors, by Laſcaris. Such as have an opportunity to examine the famous ancient manuſcript of the Septuagint, in the Vatican library, may thence form a ſtill clearer idea of the form and ſize of theſe letters, which are ſomewhat longer in the manuſcript on virtues and vices. I muſt, however, obſerve, that the Italian character was in uſe before the deſtruction of Herculaneum, as appears by a verſe of Euripides, of which I ſhall preſently ſpeak.

The form of theſe letters is very different from that, we are apt to attribute to the writings of theſe ancient times; for the characters with projecting legs, as in Δ, have been attributed to the better ages by thoſe, who think they have taken moſt pains to examine the writing of the ancient Greeks. Baudelot * ſays boldly, and without exception, that the Greek letters of that form muſt be referred to the latter ages; that is, according to the idea annexed to that expreſſion, the times of the laſt Roman emperors. All the tables hi-

* Utilité des Voyages, T. 2. p. 127.

therto publiſhed, in which the Greek characters are exhibited according to their reſpective ages, are erroneous. This may be proved, eſpecially by medals. For example, the omega, written ω, when in company with uncial letters, is attributed by Father Montfaucon to the reign of Domitian, whereas it is to be found two ages earlier on the medals of the kings of Syria; and, in the ſame Italick form, in the inſcription on the brim of the great brazen vaſe preſerved in the capitol, which Mithridates Eupator, the laſt famous prince of his line amongſt the kings of Pontus, made a preſent of to the Gymnaſium he had founded: It is, therefore, plain, that this branch of chronology is liable to error, and apt to make us conceive very wrong notions of things. For example; ſuppoſe a perſon deſirous to determine the antiquity of that famous fragment of a ſtatue of Hercules placed in the Belvedere Gardens, and called the Torſe of Michael Angelo; and that, for this purpoſe, he ſhould chuſe to have recourſe to the inſcription upon it, in which the name of the artiſt ſtands in the following characters ΑΓ° ΛΛωΝΙ°Σ; muſt he, becauſe ſome antiquarians inſiſt, that the omega thus formed did not come into uſe till very late, place the carver of this admirable ſtatue in an age, in which there was no carver to be found equal to ſo fine a piece? And, what would then become of the ideas, we are to entertain of the progreſs and ſtate of the fine arts amongſt the ancients *?

* There is no denying, that the reign of Alexander was, likewiſe, the reign of ſculpture in Greece; and that the arts declined, in proportion as the Roman empire loſt its ſplendor. It is, however, true, that they blazed forth, with new luſtre, under Hadrian; and that nothing can compare, for the fineſs of its touches, with the ſtatue of the beautiful Antinous, which was then executed.

The characters remarkable for their peculiar form are those which follow; ⲁ, ⲅ, ⲉ, ⲉ, ⲗ, ω, P, ⲩ. All the sigmas are round. These letters occur oftener in the Greek inscriptions of the second imperial age, and the following ages, than in those of the preceding ages; and sometimes one of the legs is produced the contrary way, as may be seen on an earthern lamp, cited by Passeri *. ∡IOK ⲁHT.

In the Greek manuscripts of Herculaneum, as well as in all others in capital letters, we meet with no abbreviation; and with very few, or none at all, in the most ancient parchment manuscripts in Italick letters. Frequent abbreviations are a mark of the latter ages; and are, especially in some Greek manuscripts, of a very perplexing form. There are, however, some abbreviations, which greatly contribute to the beauty of the Italick Greek writing; and give it an extraordinary degree of roundness, freedom, and connexion.

There have been found, on some of the letters, those full stops and commas, which we call accents. There are, likewise, in the second book of the treatise on rhetorick, some interlineary words in a smaller character. In the two following lines, copied from this manuscript, page 10, there are the following instances of both these particularities:

ΣΙΑΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ
ΗΘΕΙΑCΠΟΛΛΗCΟΥΚΟΥΝΛΗΠΟ----
-- ΤΕΤΗΤΕΡΤΟΡΙΚΗΙΚΑΙΔΥΝΑΜΕΙ

As to the three points over the word KAI, I cannot find in them any thing to ground the least

* *Passeri Lucern. T. 1. Tab. 24.*

con-

conjecture on. The word OYKOYN, it is plain, has its accent. The moſt ancient of the accented Greek inſcriptions is, perhaps, of a later date. It is well known, however, that accents were uſed in earlier times, ſince even the Samnites employed them to diſtinguiſh certain ſyllables. Amongſt the Greeks, the invention of them was attributed to one Ariſtophanes, of Byzantium, who lived about two hundred years before the birth of our Saviour. The verſe of Euripides is as follows †:

Ω's ἐν σοφὸν ϐούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χεῖρας νικᾷ.

This verſe was found on the wall of a corner houſe, in one of the ſtreets of Herculaneum, which houſe led to the theatre; and was accented, as I give it ‡. The Romans, in their beſt times, made uſe of a kind of accent; and it is by ſuch accents that the inſcriptions, from Auguſtus to Nero, are to be diſtinguiſhed §. I cannot, for this reaſon, help conſidering the following dateleſs inſcription, found lately at Rome, as of that period.

CELER. PRIMI. AVG. LIB. LIBERTVS.
ET. GEMINIAE. SYNTYCHE. CON
IVGI. ET. FLAVIO. CELEREONI. ET. HE
LENE. CELERINAE. FILIIS. POSTERIS.
QVE. SVIS. FECIT.

Mr. Baſnage, therefore, muſt have ſeen very few ancient inſcriptions, to ſay that they are all

* *Fabret. Inſcrip. p.* 288, *n.* 216. † *Pitt. Ercol. T.* 2. *p.* 34.
‡ There have been perſons hard enough of belief to call this diſcovery into queſtion. § *Fabret. Inſcr. p.* 168, 170. 235.

with-

without accents. The interlineary word between the two lines I have quoted is very remarkable, as being in a character different from the reſt. I ſhall not undertake to explain it. It is, evidently, however, an alteration or correction at ſecond hand; and thus it was that the letter H came to be put over the word PTOPIKHI, to ſupply an omiſſion of the copier. Some are for inferring from theſe corrections, that this ſecond book of rhetoric is an original in the hand-writing of Philodemus himſelf; and I ſee nothing very forced in this opinion. May it not, likewiſe, be probable, that the country-ſeat, in which theſe writings were found, belonged to the philoſopher whoſe work they are. It is pretty odd, at leaſt, that the four manuſcripts, which happened to be firſt unrolled, ſhould turn out, by mere chance, the works of one and the ſame author. Are we, then, to expect the works of no other?

Having, I think, ſaid enough concerning the form of the writing in theſe manuſcripts, I ſhall now ſpeak of the matter; that is to ſay, the ink and pens, with which they were written. The ink of the ancients was not as fluid as ours. They uſed no vitriol in it. This we may infer from the colour of the letters, which are blacker than the ſubſtance upon which they are written. This extraordinary blackneſs greatly facilitates the reading of them; for, had they been written with vitriolick ink, they would have loſt their colour, eſpecially by the heat, to which they were expoſed; and would have turned to a yellow, like the ink in all the old parchment manuſcripts. Beſides,

* Baſnage Preſ. de l'Hiſt. des Juifs, p 38.

an

an ink of this kind would have corroded the delicate leaves of the papyrus, as it has done the ſkins of other manuſcripts; for in the moſt ancient manuſcripts of Virgil and Terence, in the Vatican library, the letters are ſunk into the parchment, and ſome have eaten quite through it, in conſequence of the corroſive acid of the vitriolic ink, with which they were written.

Another proof that the ink, with which the manuſcripts of Herculaneum were written, was not fluid, is the relievo viſible in the letters, when you hold a leaf to the light, in an horizontal direction. They then all appear above the paper. This ink, therefore, is more like the Chineſe ink, than ours; and is no better than a thick paint. This ſerves to explain a paſſage of Demoſthenes *, in which that orator reproaches Eſchines, with his having been ſo poor in his younger days, that, to gain a livelihood, he uſed to ſweep the ſchools, wipe the benches with a ſponge, and grind the ink; (τὸ μέλαν τρίβων;) which ſhews, that the ink of the Greeks required the ſame preparation with the colours uſed by painters, and that it was not fluid. This appears, likewiſe, by the ſubſtance found in an ink-ſtand, diſcovered at Herculaneum; for it looks like a thick oil, with which one might ſtill make a ſhift to write.

A learned Neapolitan has advanced, that the ancients might have uſed, as ink, the black juice of the cuttle-fiſh, called in Latin *Sepia*; and which the modern Italians, for that reaſon, call *Calamaro*. The Greeks called this liquor ὄλος, which, according to the commentary of Heſychius, was

* *Orat. περὶ στεφ. fol.* 42. *a. lin.* 4. *edit. Ald.* 1554.

no

no other than the μέλαν τῆς σηπίας, *the black of the Sepia.* I need not obſerve, that the cuttle-fiſh makes uſe of this liquor as a preſervative againſt other large fiſh when purſued by them; for he pours it from its reſervoir; and by that means tinges the water about him to ſuch a degree, as to become inviſible to his enemies. It is thus that the fox, when cloſely purſued, ſpoils the ſcent of the dogs, by the rankneſs of his urine. After all, it does not appear, by any paſſage in their writings, that the ancients made uſe of this juice of the cuttle-fiſh.

The writing inſtrument of the ancients was a kind of pen, made of wood, or reed, cut like our modern pens, all to its nib being longer, and without any ſlit. There is one of theſe pens in the cabinet. It appears to have been formerly of box; for it is now, in a manner, petrified. There is another repreſented in a picture †; it ſtands againſt an ink-ſtand; and the knots, which appear on it, ſhew it to be of reed. The figure of a woman, in baked earth, with a pen in her hand, publiſhed by Ficoroni, as likewiſe an engraved ſtone in the cabinet of Stoſch, prove, that the ancients held the pen as we do. The nib of their pens muſt have been pretty ſharp, for the ſtrokes of their letters are very fine; indeed, rather too fine and weak; for, as their pens had no ſlit, it was impoſſible they ſhould give their letters as great a body as the moderns.

What I am going to ſay of their *Palimpſeſtes*, or waxed tablets, may ſerve as a ſupplement to what I have ſaid concerning their paper manu-

† *Pitt. Ercol. T. 2. p. 55.*

firſt

ſcripts. The ancients uſed them to write their firſt thoughts upon, as the wax admitted their being eaſily rubbed out. This they did with an edged inſtrument, rounded off at one end. There is one of theſe inſtruments in the cabinet; and another repreſented in one of the paintings belonging to it. There are, amongſt the antiquities of the cabinet of Dreſden, ſeveral of theſe waxed tablets. They are pretty large; bound together with leather thongs; and ſtill contain ſome ancient characters. Where they were found, or how they came to have a place in this cabinet, I know not. But, even before I ſet out for Italy, I took them to be, what they really are, a groſs impoſition; and I may, I think, paſs the ſame ſentence on thoſe, which, if I remember right, are preſerved in the library of the college of Thorn, in Poliſh Pruſſia. If I miſtake not, I once read ſomething about them in Heuman's *Conſpectus Reipubl. Litter.* This is not the caſe with thoſe I ſaw at Herculaneum. Theſe are real tablets of the kind I have undertaken to deſcribe. They have on the edges a thick rim of ſilver; but the wood of them is burnt to a coal. Laſt winter they were ſtill in the magazine of the cabinet. It is only ſince M. Martorelli printed his work, that theſe monuments have been found; otherwiſe they might have prevented his inſiſting, as he does in the notes to it, that waxed tablets were not in uſe till the latter days of the Greeks and Romans. But, conſidering his eagerneſs to appear a downright ſkeptick, and even outdo the ancient philoſophers of that ſect, the cleareſt evidence ſeems to be loſt upon him.

Nothing

Nothing now remains, but that I ſhould deſcribe the method of unrolling theſe manuſcripts. Many methods were unſucceſsfully tried, before they hit upon that now uſed. One of theſe, ſuggeſted by M. Mazzocchi as much more expeditious, was as follows. A large manuſcript roll was put under a glaſs bell, in hopes that the heat of the ſun would diſſipate the moiſture it might ſtill contain, and that it would then unroll of itſelf. But the heat of the ſun, at the ſame time that it exhaled the moiſture, looſened the ink, ſo that the writing was, in part, diſordered; and, in part, rendered totally indecypherable. It is the characters reduced to this ſtate that have been taken for Oſcick writing.

At length, an inhabitant of Rome propoſed a method to the court, which was, on trial, found much ſurer. The inventor was, thereupon, ſent for to Portici, and employed at a ſalary of thirty Neapolitan ducats a month, beſides board and lodging. This ingenious and indefatigable man is father Anthony Piaggi, a Genoeſe, of the order of Pious Schools, heretofore Latin copyiſt, and director of the miniature paintings, in the Vatican Library, at the uſual ſalary of copyiſts, that is ſixteen Roman crowns a month. The reaſon for conferring upon him at Rome the inſpection of the miniature paintings, was his great talent for ſuch drawing, as that branch of painting particularly requires. I never ſaw any one copy ſo well all manner of writings. There is, in the library of the Vatican, a leaf full of his writing, containing different characters, in every language; and, likewiſe, the firſt page of a little Turkiſh prayer-book,

book, which it is no eaſy matter to diſtinguiſh from the original, though the writing of the latter is uncommonly beautiful, and the letters of it inconceivably ſmall. There is, likewiſe, a leaf of his writing, of the ſame kind with that abovementioned, in the queen's apartment in the caſtle of Portici. Father Piaggi has a clerk to aſſiſt him in this his delicate, but painful, work. This clerk they allow ſix ducats a month. Each of them works on a different manuſcript.

The frame of wood uſed for this purpoſe looks, at firſt ſight, and at a certain diſtance, like the frame, on which the book-binders place a book with its ſtraps, in order to ſtitch it. This frame is ſupported by a ſcrew foot, by means of which the book may be turned about as the operator thinks proper. On the frame is placed a pretty long, moveable, board, from each end of which there riſe two wooden upright ſcrews, by means of which another board above it may be placed at any height. In the middle of the lower board are placed, according to the length of the manuſcripts, that is, at near a palm diſtance from each other, two little vertical ſteel ſcrews, about a palm each, in height, and carrying, each, a moveable ſteel plate, in the form of a creſcent, in the hollow of which, firſt bedded with cotton for greater precaution, the manuſcript roll is placed. As to the wooden uprights, they may be turned under the lower board, and thereby raiſed or lowered at pleaſure, as I have already obſerved. Add, that the manuſcript roll is borne by two ribbands, of about a little finger's breadth, hanging from the upper board, in which there is a row of holes

extending

extending in length, by means of which theſe ribbands are faſtened, above, to two pegs, like thoſe of a fiddle, and may be thus eaſily wound or unwound, ſo as to afford the operator an opportunity of gently turning the manuſcript ſuſpended to them, which ever way he thinks proper; and that, without putting his hands to it. There are other ſmaller pegs, on rods fixed in the openings of this upper board, for the purpoſe of moving ſome ſilk threads, the uſe of which I ſhall now deſcribe.

When they have ſlung the manuſcript to be unrolled, in the manner above deſcribed, they look for the end of it; and, when they have found the end, lay on a corner of it, with a very ſoft hair pencil, about a pea's bigneſs of a certain very curious kind of paſte, which has the ſingular property of, firſt, ſoftening; then, looſening; and, afterwards, faſtening. Next, they immediately, apply to the part ſo prepared (which the manuſcripts will admit, being, as I have already obſerved, written but on one ſide, and that the inſide) a bit of thin bladder, no bigger than the part covered by the paſte. By repeating this operation, the exterior leaf is, at length, looſened, from end to end, from that next under it. It is ſheep, or hog's bladder, they employ for this purpoſe, ſuch as the gold-beaters uſe *. Thin and delicate as theſe bladders are in themſelves, they ſplit them for thi purpoſe. In this manner they continue to apply, alternately, the paſte and the bladder, to about a little finger's breadth, till they have done

* It is not bladder the gold-beaters put between the leaves of gold they hammer, but a pellicle found in ox guts.

it from one end of the roll to the other; when they fix on different parts of what they have thus lined, and with the ſame kind of paſte, the ſilk threads already taken notice of, which, unreeling from their pegs, extend gently one after another; Thus, by means of the pieces of bladder paſted on the outſide of the leaf, and the threads of ſilk paſted on the outſide of the pieces of bladder, they detach the part of the leaf ſo treated, and keep it ſuſpended in a vertical poſition, till, having looſened too much of it to be truſted to the ſilk threads alone, they roll both, little by little, as the work advances, on a cylinder placed on layers of cotton, above that part of the machine which I have already deſcribed; ſo that, by the time the manuſcript has been entirely unrolled, this cylinder is covered with it. The ſilk threads, however, are ſtill neceſſary, as they hinder the part lined with the bladder, from ſticking to that part of the roll which lies immediately over it. When the whole manuſcript has been unrolled in this manner, they take it, with great care, from off the cylinder; ſpread it out; and copy it. Four or five hours are ſcarce enough to detach a finger's breadth; nor leſs than a month, for a palm's breadth. Such is, nearly, the method taken with theſe manuſcripts, as far as I can pretend to deſcribe it, without cuts to repreſent the apparatus contrived for that purpoſe, and the manner of uſing ſuch apparatus.

To give a ſtill clearer notion of this operation, I ſhall endeavour to point out the difficulties with which it is attended. They conſiſt leſs in the primi-

primitive nature of the paper, than the actual ſtate of it. Some of them, when placed between the eye and the light, look, here and there, like a tattered rag; owing to the torrents of water which overſpread the town, after it had been overwhelmed with aſhes; for, this water, coming to penetrate them, macerated and rotted, in proceſs of time, ſuch parts as it continued in. This misfortune cannot, however, be diſcovered, till the leaves have been unrolled; otherwiſe they might chuſe ſuch manuſcripts to work on, as have ſuffered leaſt. Beſides, it is much harder, if not altogether impoſſible, to unroll ſuch decayed manuſcripts to any purpoſe. The leaves of the Papyrus, in all, are ſo thin, that, when there happens to be a hole in any of the coils, the next coil makes but one body with it, and, in a manner, fills up the hole; in conſequence of which, when they lay the paſte on the part where the hole is, (a thing hard to avoid, as theſe holes are ſeldom viſible,) they carry off, from the coil under it, that part which filled up the hole; and thus make blanks, where there ſhould not be any.

The operation is equally critical in thoſe places, where the leaves of the Papyrus were laid one over another, for the ſake of paſting them together; for, the ſtuff laid on to looſen ſuch ſeam, may happen to penetrate through it to the next coil, ſo as to make both adhere wherever they touch. It appears by this ſketch, how hard it is to proceed, with any expedition, in this work; which, beſides, has not, as yet, produced any thing very flattering; for,

what great pleaſure or profit can be expected from the manuſcripts that have been found, even ſuppoſing them entire, and no way defaced, if they are all like thoſe which have been already unrolled? Have we not already ſeveral treatiſes of rhetorick by the ancients; and is not that of Ariſtotle, alone, more than ſufficient for our purpoſe? Neither do we want moral treatiſes on virtues and vices. The works of the ſame Ariſtotle, on that ſubject, leaves us no room to long for others.

But it were to be wiſhed, we could recover the works that are miſſing of the ancient hiſtorians; for inſtance, thoſe of Diodorus, of Theopompus, of Ephorus, and others; likewiſe Ariſtotle's ſurvey of the dramatick poets; the miſſing pieces of Sophocles, Euripides, Menander, and Alexis; the rules of ſymmetry compoſed by Pamphylius, for the uſe of painters. What are we the better for an idle and mutilated invective againſt muſick? It were, therefore, to be wiſhed, that, inſtead of going on with the works they happen to light upon, they would, as ſoon as they could, examine the ſubject; and, if they found it unintereſting, take in hand ſome other, till they met with ſomething really curious and uſeful. Such they might, then, entirely unroll; and let the others alone, till they had nothing better to mind.

Theſe writings have been, for a long time paſt, a very juſt object of the hopes and fears of the learned. Father Piaggi, to ſatisfy them, made a propoſal to engrave and publiſh, one after another, the writings he unrolled, that thoſe well verſed

verſed in the languages of antiquity might immediately ſet about explaining them. He even etched, with his own hands, a column of the firſt manuſcript he had unrolled; and preſented it, by way of ſpecimen, to his ſuperiors; but they did not think proper to accept his propoſal. The members of the Royal Academy, thinking themſelves equal to the taſk, have, rather than let a ſtranger run away with the honour of it, reſerved it to themſelves. Yet, as far as I can learn, theſe gentlemen no longer think of publiſhing any thing. Father Piaggi, however, continues, though unacquainted with the Greek, to copy what he has unrolled; and it is from this his firſt copy, that a fairer one is afterwards made.

I ſhall conclude with a ſhort account of the manner, in which the cabinet of Herculaneum at Portici is laid out. For want of room, ſuch is the number and variety of the monuments already diſcovered and removed; they have been obliged to place the paintings in private apartments, which have no communication with what is properly called the cabinet. This cabinet takes up the firſt ſtory of a wing added to the palace, ſo as to form a new quadrangle. The rooms of this ſtory are, all, arched. At firſt, they exhibited theſe monuments but in four of theſe rooms, and uſed two others by way of magazine. But, at preſent, all the rooms of the firſt ſtory of this new building, to the amount of ſeventeen, have no other uſe.

The great gate of the cabinet faces the eaſt, and is provided with a guard-houſe, where a party of ſoldiers do conſtant duty. On the left, as you

enter, there is an apartment occupied by the king's porter, who opens a large iron grate, and thereby gives you a view of ſeveral works in bronze. The firſt object, that ſtrikes you on entering the inner court, is the brazen horſe, with his head turned to the weſt, on which ſide, and on the right and left, are ſtatues of marble, intermixed with altars, columns, the cornices of private and other buildings, the borders of ancient wells, and all kinds of work in baked earth, ſuch as the Glireria, of which I have already ſpoken. On the left, as, likewiſe, above the entrance, there are ancient inſcriptions ſunk into the wall. There are, alſo, in this court, two marble columns, that belonged to the ſepulchre of Herodes Atticus, and Reiglla, with the well known inſcription, which has been brought from the Farneſian palace, at Rome. But, as a proper ſpot has not yet been found to erect them on, they are ſtill permitted to lye on the ground.

Above the principal door into the building, of which the cabinet makes part, are the two following verſes.

HERCVLAE EXVVIAS VRBIS TRAXISSE VESEVI EX FAVCIBVS VNA VIDEN REGIA VIS POTVIT.

It has been obſerved of theſe verſes, by a wag at Naples, that the author, in all probability, compoſed them on his cloſe-ſtool; and, in compoſing them, worked and writhed as much, as a woman in hard labour; with a face, ſuch as the Romans, according to Suetonius, maliciouſly gave the emperor Veſpaſian; that of a man ſtraining hard to get rid of a diſagreeable burthen. It muſt, indeed,

deed, be allowed, that theſe verſes are enough to give one the cholic. There is no getting the *ex*, preceded as it is by an eliſion, from between ones teeth. The word *viden* ſmells of the rod. The poet, however, may plead, in excuſe for his manner of uſing the *ex*, two verſes of Homer, which end in an ἐξ. This inſcription was, notwithſtanding all its faults, approved by one, who did not love to be contradicted, even in things ſhe did not underſtand. But, when they were produced to the Marquis Tannucci, ſecretary of ſtate, with the irrevocable decree paſſed in favour of them, he ſhrugged up his ſhoulders, and compoſed, extempore, and with the ſame vivacity that he dictates a letter, the following diſtich;

Herculeæ Monumenta urbis quo reddita fatis
Eſſe Tito credas, reddita ſunt Carolo.

At no great diſtance from this entrance, over which M. Mazocchi's inſcription is placed, there is a winding flight of ſtairs not very ſuitable to the building; and, at the foot of it, another inſcription, by M. Mazocchi, which is ſomewhat more tolerable.

CAROLVS REX VTRIVSQVE SICILIAE PIVS FELIX AVGVSTVS
STVDIO ANTIQVITATVM INCENSVS QVIDQVID VETERIS GAZAE
EX EFFOSIONIBVS HERCVLANENSIBVS POMPEIANIS STABIENSIBVS
CONTRAHERET TOT ANNIS IMPENDIO MAXIMO POTVIT
IN HANC MVSARVM SEDEM ILLATVM SVISQVE ARTE PINACOTHECIS
DISPOSITVM
VETVSTATIS AMATORIBVS EXPOSVIT ANNO CIↃ Ic CCLVIII

The ſix female ſtatues in bronze, of which I have ſpoken, ſtand on this ſtair-caſe.

The firſt room is filled, chiefly, with veſſels uſed at ſacrifices. In the middle of it are two round marble tables; and, on them, the two fine tripods, and a *focolare* (hearth) in bronze, in which they uſed to burn charcoal to warm a their rooms, or the like. In the ſame room are the portraits of the Apollo and the Muſes, engraved in the ſecond volume of the paintings of Herculaneum. The ſecond room contains a great variety of vaſes uſed for different purpoſes; and is decorated with the fine pavement found at Herculaneum, of which I have already taken notice *. In the third and fourth rooms are the reſt of the ſmaller utenſils. It is in the laſt of theſe rooms that Father Piaggi, and his clerk, work on the manuſcripts. The fifth room contains the buſts in bronze, and the manuſcripts; the former placed, round it, by themſelves, in low preſſes. This room is, likewiſe, paved with an ancient piece of Moſaick work, thirty Roman palms long, and ſixteen broad; and fitting the floor as exactly, as if it had been made for it. In the ſixth room, are the large antique candelabres; and, in a gallery belonging to it, built on purpoſe to reſemble a kitchen, the ancient kitchen utenſils. In the ſeventh room, are the monuments of marble; and, amongſt the reſt, three vaſes, ſquare on the outſide, and round within, the borders of which are of very delicate workmanſhip. Theſe vaſes, ſerved to keep the luſtral water uſed in their temples. In the ſame place, is an Etruſcan Diana. In the eighth room, are the three fineſt ſtatues, in bronze, of the whole collection; namely,

* See p. 28.

the

the Silenus, the young ſleeping Satyr, and the Mercury; with the four fineſt paintings found at Stabia, which are ſunk into the wall. The ninth room is filled with large baſſo-relievos, in ſtucco; and ſeveral admirable pieces of Moſaick work, in exceeding good preſervation. Amongſt the baſſo-relievos there is one, which repreſents a hero in the center of an oval kind of buckler, with a hook to hang it by, fixed to the outer rim; a thing, I don't remember to have met with in any other. In this room there is, likewiſe, an ancient niche, entire as it was found, and covered with coarſe moſaick work. The opening of this niche meaſures ſix palms and five inches.

The other rooms of this cabinet have not as yet been appropriated to any particular uſe. In the tenth, however, are to be ſeen ſome fine marble baſſo-relievos. One of them repreſents a Satyr riding on an aſs, with a little bell to his neck; and a rock bearing the terminus of Priapus, with a horn of abundance. The aſs, who is braying, ſeems to challenge, in point of vigour, the God of Gardens. Another of the baſſo-relievos, found at Herculaneum ſurrounded with mouldings reſembling a frame, preſents a female figure, half naked, ſeated on a chair without a back, and fondling with the right hand a pidgeon, which ſhe holds in the other. Oppoſite to this figure, there is another female one, cloathed; her right hand ſupported by an Hermes, and her left ſupporting her chin. Behind the firſt, there is, on a circular baſis, a bearded Indian Bacchus, holding a cup, in form of a ſhell, like that, into which a female figure, in

the picture of a marriage, generally called the Aldrobandine Marriage, pours a perfumed liquor. The moſt remarkable of theſe baſſo-relievos is one, in which Socrates, ſeated on a cube, and covered with a lion's ſkin, holds in his right hand the cup of hemlock juice; a knotted ſtick lying acroſs his arm. This piece is one palm and nine inches high; and a little more, in breadth.

At one ſide of the firſt apartment, there are two magazines, a cabinet of medals, and a collection of books at the diſpoſal of the director. The four firſt rooms have a proſpect over the Garden of the Caſtle, and a very grand one over the ſea, which is at no great diſtance; for it takes in the point of Pauſilippis, the iſland Caprea, Sorrento, and the whole gulph of Naples. The other rooms, which are over the great gate-way, look into the high road.

They have begun to mould in plaiſter, or rather take mouldings from, the fineſt ſtatues and buſts, to ſend them to Spain. They propoſe, as ſoon as every thing can be finally diſtributed, to decorate the gallery, (which occupies, in one of the four ſides of the caſtle of Portici, that part of it forming the principal facade,) with the large ſtatues in bronze, and ſome of thoſe in marble. They have reſerved for this gallery, likewiſe, ſome magnificent columns of antique yellow marble, all of a ſingle block; four of them, from the Farneſian palace at Rome; the reſt collected in other parts of the ſame city.

The preſent king of Spain has founded an academy to explain and deſcribe all theſe diſcoveries. About five years ago, it conſiſted of fifteen members. The canon Mazocchi is one of the chief; and, certainly, the moſt learned. Theſe academi-

cians

cians aſſemble, once a week, at the palace of the Marquis Bernard Tanucci, the preſent ſecretary of ſtate, who has a great ſhare, and greatly intereſts himſelf, in the labours of this body, as this learned miniſter himſelf told me. Accordingly, when they preſented him with the explanations for the firſt tome, he found them ſo diffuſe, and ſo overburthened with erudition, that he took, himſelf, the trouble to prune it. But, in ſpite of all his pains, a great many ſuperfluities ſtill remain.

I hope, Sir, ſome day or another, to add to this letter, written in the country, from *Caſtel Gandolpho*, one of the moſt magnificent houſes of my maſter, and, I may ſay, my friend, his eminence Cardinal Albani; and, conſequently, without the aſſiſtance of any books; for, I flatter myſelf with the hopes of being able to review, from time to time, theſe literary treaſures; and ſhall, perhaps, attempt it, next autumn.

If this letter ſhould ever appear in another tongue, and be happy enough to reach the hands of the gentlemen, who write the Memoirs of Trevoux, I hope it will not meet with the ſame cenſure they were pleaſed to beſtow on my Deſcription of the engraved ſtones in the cabinet of the Baron de Stoſch †. This cenſure relates to the books I have cited ‡, with which they hap-

† Mem. de Trevoux 1760. mois de Sept. pag. 2119.

‡ The author either did not read, or did not underſtand, what theſe gentlemen have ſaid of his deſcription of the engraved ſtones, in the cabinet of Baron Stoſch. They, by no means, reproach him with the choice of the books cited by him in that work, nor with having been too ſparing of his citations. All they ſay, is, that it were to be wiſhed his work had been illuſtrated with plates, as they would render it more uſeful and intereſting. This the author himſelf muſt own; and, likewiſe, that it is not very polite or decent, to make uſe of haughty and contemptuous language, even in defence of the beſt cauſe.

pen not to be acquainted; for which reaſon I might not have the good fortune to avoid their cenſure in this work, even were I at Rome, with all my books about me. It is impoſſible for ſome men, eſpecially in the country where they live, to judge properly of any works concerning antiquities; more particularly, works compoſed on the ſpot, where the antiquities themſelves are preſerved. In works of mere fancy, ſuch as *my thoughts*, it is needleſs to cite books; but there is no avoiding it in thoſe, which treat of monuments publiſhed elſewhere, and well or ill explained by others. Theſe gentlemen ſhould rather have obſerved, that, ſo far from being profuſe, either of citations or erudition, I have been very ſparing in the uſe of both. I might eaſily have found matter enough for a thick folio, had I not made it a law, never to uſe two words where one would do. It is not my fault, if theſe gentlemen do not poſſeſs, or are not acquainted with, the books, which it is the duty of every antiquary to ſtudy; and, by owning it, have betrayed the ſhallowneſs of their erudition. They, moreover, reproach me with having Germanized the French ſtile, though I had obviated that charge, by a publick confeſſion, in my preface, of my little practice in that language. There was a neceſſity for publiſhing the work in ſome living tongue, and I thought the French the beſt, as the moſt univerſally underſtood. I did all in my power to render my ſtile correct. I ſubmitted it to a perſon better verſed in that language than I could pretend to be. I reviſed it again after him; and, therefore, am not aſhamed of having ſucceeded ſo ill. I don't bluſh

to own, that I am not perfect maſter even of my mother-tongue; and that I have but too much experienced, in this letter, the want of a great many technical terms *, with which, no doubt, the Italian would have better ſupplied me.

If this letter ſhould reach you, Sir, while on your travels, accept, with it, of my moſt ardent wiſhes, that Providence may every where direct your ſteps, and bring you back, with your zealous conductor, in good health, and rich in uſeful knowledge, to our dear country; for, it is become mine by the ſtay I made, and the favours I received, in it. May you find peace reſtored to it! May I, one day, find a retreat in it! Be that as it will, I preſume to hope, that I ſhall ever preſerve that ſhare in your affections, with which you have condeſcended to honour me.

* This muſt evidently appear by the tranſlation, which, notwithſtanding all the pains taken to ſtudy and find the true meaning of the original, will, it is to be feared, appear obſcure, if not contradictory, in ſome places. It is, indeed, no eaſy matter to deſcribe, in any language, things never known to the people who uſe it.

The END.

p. 11. Herculaneum destroyd under Titus, in 79, with Pompeii, & Stabia

p. 6. Portici, & Resina, built above Herculaneum.

p. 9. Portici called so; as Petronius calls Herculaneum, "Herculis Porti

p. 11. Pompeii, 7 miles from Portici, 12 from Naples. Stabia still fu

p. 15. No Lava reached Pompeii, or Stabia

p. 27. a Stuccoed Hall at Baiæ, discovered by an English Captain. –

p. 39. Guerra painted Pictures, which he sold for antient, &c from Hercula

p. 43. The Piece of Antique Sculpture not shown. (the Satyr, & Goat.)

p. 46. Carving in Brass decayd in Nero's time.

p. 50. 'Tarlafica'. (in Douce Ill. Shakesp. v. p.)

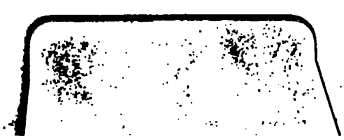
p. 51. Priapuses, with Bells, & Wings.

p. 57. Antient Loaves. ι. Ὀκταβλώμοι. τετράτρυφος. quadra.

p. 80. Room where the Mss: were found. written on Papyrus.

p. 86. 'Glutinatores', antient artists.

p. 100. Oscick. spoken by the most quet. People of the Campania. p. 111.

p. 104. Ages of Sculpture, Alexander, & Hadrian.

p. 107. 4 first Mss. unrolld. all by 'Philodemus.'